

**THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CITY :
ALCOHOL, THE EMATSHENI AND POPULAR CULTURE IN DURBAN, 1902-1936**

Paul la Hausse

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Arts,
University of Cape Town, for the Degree of
Master of Arts.**

Cape Town, 1984

The University of Cape Town has been given
the right to reproduce this thesis in whole
or in part. Copyright is held by the author.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

CONTENTS

<u>List of Tables and Illustrations</u>		v
<u>Abbreviations</u>		vi
<u>Preface</u>		vii
 <u>INTRODUCTION</u>		
<u>Part I</u>	Perspectives from Below: Popular Culture and Local History.	1
<u>Part II</u>	The Colonial "Liquor Question" in Natal, 1875-1902	11
 <u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	<u>'DARKEST DURBAN' : AFRICAN LABOUR, BEER BREWING AND THE RE-WORKING OF A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PRACTICE, 1900-1909.</u>	22
(i)	Labour Fees, Barracks and Social Control	24
(ii)	Ricksha Pullers, Domestic Servants, Washermen, <u>Amalaitas</u> , Prostitutes and Self-Employed Africans	29
(iii)	Segregationist Ideologies and the Debate over African Housing	38
(iv)	African Women and Beer in Durban : The Continuity between Town and Countryside	46
(v)	The Establishment of a Municipal Native Eating House and the Beginnings of the Monopoly System	51
(vi)	Prohibition, the Brewing Boom and the Emergence of the Municipal Beer Monopoly	58
 <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	<u>'DRINKING IN A CAGE' : THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DURBAN SYSTEM, 1909-1918</u>	71
(i)	Housing, Municipal Monopoly and Social Control	74
(ii)	Housing, Liquor and <u>Dagga</u> : Municipal Control and the Struggle over Time-Discipline	82
(iii)	Popular Drunkenness and Contradictions in the Monopoly System	94
(iv)	Early African Opposition to Durban Municipal Beer Halls	99
(v)	The Durban System and African Housing : The Establishment of Baumannville and the Refining of Urban Control	104
 <u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	<u>CENTRALISING URBAN CONTROL : DURBAN, THE URBAN AREAS ACT AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF CONTROL, 1918-1928</u>	114
(i)	Rural Impoverishment, Urbanisation and Urban Control, 1918-1923	115

(ii)	Durban and the Passage of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act	123
(iii)	Strong Drink, Diet and Beer Brewing	133
(iv)	The Emergence of Organised Popular Opposition to the Durban System	141
<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	<u>THE DURBAN SYSTEM IN CRISIS : 'BAD BEER', THE 1929 RIOTS AND BOYCOTT, 1928 - 1930</u>	153
(i)	Housing, Proletarianisation and African Political Organizations in Durban in the Late Twenties	156
(ii)	Shebeens, the Sydenham Beer Hall and the I.C.U. yase Natal	163
(iii)	Spontaneity and Organization : The 1929 "Beer Riots" in Durban	171
(iv)	Popular Protest and the Native Riots Commission	183
(v)	The Beer Boycott and the Response of the State	194
<u>CHAPTER FIVE</u>	<u>BREAKING THE BOYCOTT : THE NATIVE ADVISORY BOARD AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF AFRICAN OPPOSITION IN DURBAN, 1930 - 1931</u>	205
(i)	The Native Advisory Board and the Origins of the Anti-Boycott Resolution	207
(ii)	Continuing Urban Militancy : The Boycott, the Ricksha Strike and the meeting of African Chiefs in Durban	216
(iii)	Class Divisions, Political Factionalism and the Struggle over Popular Cultural Expression	225
(iv)	Radicalism Eclipsed : The Death of Johannes Nkosi and the 1930 Pass-Burning Campaign	231
<u>CHAPTER SIX</u>	<u>POLICING POPULAR RECREATION : SEGREGATION, LIBERAL REFORM AND "LEISURE", 1930 - 1936</u>	240
(i)	Urbanisation, Residential Segregation and Beer Brewing, 1930 - 1934	242
(ii)	Liberal Reform Initiative in Durban : The Debate over "Leisure-Time".	252
(iii)	Struggles over Cultural Expression in Durban : Dance Hall and Liberal Voluntary Organisations, 1930 - 1936	262
(iv)	Independence and Control : <u>Ngoma</u> Dance and African Sport	272
(v)	Beer Brewing and Proclamation in the Early Thirties	282
(vi)	The Central State Intervenes : Lamontville, the Young-Barrett Committee and the Takeover of the Borough Police, 1934 - 1936	287

<u>EPILOGUE</u>	<u>Part I</u> Durban and State Liquor Policy, 1937-1945	296
	<u>Part II</u> Liquor in the Post-1948 Period	307
<u>Appendices</u>		316
<u>Bibliography</u>		337

University of Cape Town

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Tables

1.	Africans charged with various offences, 1902-1911.	36
2.	African municipal accommodation, c.1914.	76
3.	Africans in possession of liquor other than <u>utshwala</u> , 1912-1917.	90
4.	Number of African workseekers and visitors, Durban, 1919-1922.	117
5.	African males medically examined, 1919-1922.	121
6.	Revenue from African registration fees, 1917-1922.	132
7.	Africans in possession of strong drink, 1924-1927.	139
8.	Peri-urban African population, c.1925.	140
9.	African accommodation in Durban, c.1929.	157

Maps

1.	Durban showing shebeens (1908), municipal beer halls and breweries, main municipal housing for Africans, some political meeting places, some African dance halls and African social clubs.	374
2.	Durban showing the new municipal boundary post.1932.	375

Photographs

Ricksha pullers c.1910; African Washerman; African Herbalists c.1910; African Petty Traders; I.C.U. meeting, 1929; Street scene during June riots, 1929; Railway workers in compound at Congella, 1929; Borough Police Flying Squad unearthing isitshimiyane, 1929 (two photographs); Members of the C.I.D. with confiscated sticks; African poll-tax defaulters.

between page 152 and page 153

ABBREVIATIONS

(i) of particular relevance to the text

A.B.M.	American Board Mission
A.N.C.	African National Congress
B.R.G.A.	Bantu Recreational Grounds Association
C.P.S.A.	Communist Party of South Africa
D.D.A.F.A.	Durban and District African Football Association
I.C.U.	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
M.O.H.	Medical Officer of Health
Municipal N.A.D.	Municipal Native Administration Department
N.A.D.	Native Affairs Department
N.A.B.	Native Advisory Board
N.N.C.	Natal Native Congress
N.R.A.	Native Revenue Account
N.W.O.	Native Welfare Officer
S.A.P.	South African Police
S.A.I.R.R.	South African Institute of Race Relations
S.A.N.N.C.	South African Native National Congress
S.A.R.H	South African Railways and Harbours
V.D.	Venereal Disease
W.C.T.U.	Women's Christian Temperance Union

(ii) of particular relevance to the footnotes

Act.	Acting
Asst.	Assistant
C.C.	Chief Constable
C.I.D.	Criminal Investigation Department
C.M.	Chief Magistrate
C.N.C.	Chief Native Commissioner
C.S.O.	Colonial Secretary's Office
D.M.C.	Durban Magistrate's Correspondence
D.M.R.	Durban Magistrate's Records
G.H.	Government House
Hon.Sec.	Honorary Secretary
jkt.	jacket
L.A.	Legislative Assembly
L.C.	Legislative Council
N.A.P.F.B.C.	Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee
N.A.C.	Native Administration Committee
N.E.C.	Native Economic Commission
para.	paragraph
P.C.	Police Constable
S.C.	Select Committee
Sec.	Secretary
S.N.A.	Secretary for Native Affairs
S.P.	Separate Publication
T.C.	Town Clerk
T.C.F.	Town Clerk's Files
U.G.	Union Government

PREFACE

In the early thirties, Gilbert Coka, an organizer of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, commented that the 'liquor question' was a 'peculiarity of Natal'. Coka was not suggesting the absence of liquor legislation, directed against Africans, outside of Natal. Rather, he was drawing out the particular form which liquor laws had taken in Natal and the widespread popular opposition to the control imposed on African production and consumption of alcohol. One of the main concerns of this study is to provide an understanding of this 'peculiarity' of Natal.

In 1908 the Natal Legislative Assembly passed legislation which made provision for the establishment, by towns in the Colony, of a municipal beer monopoly. The Durban Town Council which had been the prime mover in the establishment of monopoly legislation, implemented the provisions of the Native Beer Act in 1909. After this date the legal consumption of utshwala (otherwise referred to as sorghum or 'Kaffir beer') by Africans living in Durban and Natal's towns, was permissible only within the confines of municipal beer halls. In Durban the institution of a municipal beer monopoly provided the basis for the elaboration of the "Durban system": a particular form of native administration which became a model for the control and exploitation by South Africa's ruling classes, of African popular classes living and working in urban centres. The Durban system also stirred the interest of administrators as far afield as Uganda and the Sudan. It anticipated many of the provisions of the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which represented the first decisive step of the South African state to centralize urban management and control.

The reasons for the widespread attention which the "Durban system" attracted during the first three decades of the century are best understood in terms of the absence of a coherent state urban policy. While local government in Johannesburg grappled with the problem of financing accommodation for large sections

of its African population, in Durban the social costs of African labour were heavily subsidized by the massive revenue generated by a municipal beer monopoly. This revenue provided the material platform for a singularly repressive system of urban control. The Native Beer Act (No.23) of 1908 laid down that revenue accruing from municipal beer halls in Natal was to be channelled into the Native Administration Fund (which became the Native Revenue Account after 1923) for the purposes of defraying expenses in connection with the administration of the Act, as well as for 'native welfare' or 'any other object in the interests of the natives residing in or resorting to a borough'. The altruism of the Act rapidly proved to be thin. After 1909 beer revenue was ploughed into the maintenance and establishment of barracks, beer halls, hostels and beer breweries, and also into the costs of policing and administration in the town. It is significant that until 1929, the year in which a popular boycott of Durban's municipal beer halls was instituted, Durban remained the only town in South Africa with a self-supporting Native Revenue Account. During the late twenties and early thirties, fierce African opposition to the monopoly system undermined both its ideological and economic basis. However, prior to this period, Durban was viewed as a crucible in which an efficient national system of native administration could, at least in part, be forged. The apparently efficient control of Africans' access to drink through the monopoly system was central to these perceptions.

This thesis concerns itself with the genesis and development of the Durban system but also provides a point of entry into the social history of Durban. There are a number of threads which hold this study together. The most central of these comprises an examination of those struggles between ordinary African people and the white rulers of the town over access to, and the production of drink generally, and utshwala in particular.

The lengths to which the state in South Africa has gone in order to control the supply of alcohol, particularly utshwala,

to African popular classes and the intensity of the resistance to this control has, with one notable exception,⁽¹⁾ been largely ignored by historians. This neglect is understandable. Not only is the study of the making of South Africa's working classes in its infancy but regional social histories have only recently begun to make their appearance in written form.⁽²⁾ Moreover, research has tended to focus on the Transvaal, especially the Witwatersrand, and the main concern of such studies has been to concentrate on the regional with a view to arriving at more general conclusions about the state and the nature of class formation and consciousness.⁽³⁾ In their sensitivity to local-level and regional concerns, these studies are invaluable and certainly they represent an important step away from, as Tim Keegan has noted, the growing sterility of the debates on race and class, on segregationist ideology and practice, and on the nature and role of the state.⁽⁴⁾

-
- (1) See Charles van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, Volume 1, New Babylon, (Johannesburg, 1982), pp.44-102. This is a reprint of a previously published essay; see 'Randlords and Rotgut, 1886-1903', History Workshop, Issue 2, 1976. An uneven but useful overview of state liquor policy is to be found in Mark Stein, 'State Liquor Policy Since 1880', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981, pp.1-38.
- (2) The pioneering work of van Onselen is the most obvious example of this new literature, see Charles van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, Volume 1, New Babylon, Volume 2, New Nineveh.
- (3) See, for example, Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), Labour, Townships and Protest (Johannesburg, 1979); Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal (Johannesburg, 1983); and Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa (London, 1982).
- (4) Tim Keegan, 'The sharecropping economy, African class formation and the 1913 Natives Land Act in the highveld maize belt', in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, p.195.

The social history of Durban has found a tentative starting point in the work of M.W. Swanson and David Hemson.⁽⁵⁾ However, for the period which this thesis covers, 1902-36, there is a notable dearth of research both on the Durban region and on the political economy of Natal as a whole. In tracing a particular thread of Durban's social history it has been necessary to negotiate the gaps in existing regional historiography and also to come to terms with some understanding of wider social, economic, political and cultural processes.

In attempting to recover the subjective experience of subordinate classes, the historian is frequently faced with the intractability of documentary sources. Since popular classes have seldom bequeathed written accounts of their experiences to future generations, the task of the social historian is made that much more difficult. In South Africa, when the lives of ordinary African people have had occasion to insinuate their way into official records, more often than not they appear as criminal statistics, fatalities in riots and industrial accidents and above all, as commodities of labour power. The Durban Town Clerk's Files,⁽⁶⁾ which have provided the single most important documentary material for the present

(5) See M.W. Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1964; and D. Hemson, 'Class Consciousness and Migrant Workers: Dockworkers of Durban', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1979. Swanson's coverage of the period 1908-1930 is extremely cursory, while Hemson's work, covering nearly a century, often tends to be uneven. Paul Maylam's research poses some useful questions, see, for example, Paul Maylam, 'Aspects of African Urbanization in the Durban Area Before 1940', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on Natal c. 1930-1960, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1980.

(6) The Durban Town Clerk's Files comprise over 4 000 boxes of correspondence and reports. Prior to 1912 the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Town Clerk is to be found in the Durban Corporation Letterbooks. Both the Town Clerk's Files and the Letterbooks were in the early stages of being indexed and sorted when I completed my research.

research, inevitably share in the shortcomings of many official records. However, in certain respects these Files, which have remained virtually unexamined by historians, contain valuable material for the social historian. On the one hand the Files provide a detailed, at times tediously so, account of the daily administration of the Borough over a period of forty years. On the other hand the Town Clerk's Files yielded a surprising range of written sources, mostly in the form of official and unofficial reports, petitions, resolutions of mass meetings, confidential police reports, etc., which were highly suggestive of the nature of the lived experience of ordinary African people in Durban. The Report Books of Durban's Superintendent of Police and previously unexamined Durban Magistrate's and Criminal Court Records, go some distance in providing the historian with material for a history "from below". One wonders how much more material these records would have yielded if most of them had not been incinerated some years ago. The records of the Borough Police, which undoubtedly would provide valuable information, have yet to be located. The Minutes of the Native Advisory Board in Durban suggest some of the ways in which Africans attempted to make collective decisions governing their lives. These, and other primary sources, suggest the possibility of an archival-based "people's history". Yet the problem of inadequate sources remains a real one.

Oral history suggests one way out of this problem. However, the gathering of oral testimonies appears deceptively simple and certainly, it does not offer a ready-made solution to the problem of inadequate primary sources. While the interviews which I conducted, along with those collected by the now defunct Natal University Oral History Project, were of some value, certain shortcomings were apparent. The problem of locating participants in events which occurred between fifty and eighty-five years ago is an obvious one. Yet the circumscribed value of oral testimonies in relation to this study are of a more logistical nature. The scope of this thesis is wide and its many apparent gaps could be filled in by oral histories.

This, however, will require a more directed collective project, conducted by interviewers with a keen grasp of existing gaps in our historical understanding. This project, despite material already collected in Natal, has only just started.

It would be convenient to place the blame for existing gaps in this study at the door of the archives. This, however, would hardly be fair. The writing of this thesis has suggested whole areas of research which are only implicitly acknowledged or appear as footnotes in the following pages. Similarly, many questions which have been generated by research have, of necessity, received only sketchy answers. Hopefully this study, at least, provides an empirical basis for a social history of Durban during the first decades of the twentieth century, and also suggests some ways of re-examining Legassick's contention that:

With few exceptions, African urban culture has either expressed itself in derivative American B movie form, or has defined itself by white standards. (7)

Early work on this thesis began in 1981 at the University of Natal in Durban. However, most of it was completed in the History Department at the University of Cape Town. I am grateful to Paul Maylam at the University of Natal. I have always benefitted from his stimulating intellectual honesty. The transition from one university to another was made less difficult by my supervisors, Professor Colin Webb and Patrick Harries. In Professor Webb I found an uncompromising and astute critic from whom I learned a great deal. To Patrick Harries I owe a deep debt of gratitude. His support and encouragement, tempered by skilful and imaginative criticism, was unflagging.

(7) M. Legassick, 'Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-34', unpublished paper presented to Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1973, p.62.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank a number of other individuals who, in a variety of ways, assisted me in my work. These include Jane Mackenzie, Chris Saunders, Eddie Koch, Leslie Witz, Colin Bundy, Louise Torr, Nic Cope, Helen Bradford, Iain Edwards and Uma Duphelia. I am also deeply grateful to Julie Lamberth for the special effort she made to help me in my work. Nic Wellington assisted me with research and provided much appreciated hospitality.

The staff of the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg, the Killie Campbell Library in Durban and the African Studies Division at the University of Cape Town were frequently helpful beyond the call of duty. Gill Berning of the Local History Museum in Durban assisted me in retrieving the photographs which appear below. I am also grateful to Andy Vinnicombe of the Cartographic Unit of the University of Cape Town for producing an outstanding map, and to Jane Hutchings for typing this thesis.

I must also thank my parents for their support, my brother Philippe for some financial assistance, and my sister Brigitte for giving me practical help when it was sorely needed.

The financial assistance of the University of Cape Town and the Human Sciences Research Council, I also gratefully acknowledge.

Paul la Hausse
Cape Town, 1984

INTRODUCTION

Part I Perspectives from Below: Popular Culture and Local History

Since E.P. Thompson claimed that "the English working class made itself as much as it was made",⁽¹⁾ a great deal of energy, both creative and destructive, has been devoted by broadly materialist historians in debating the merits of history writing "from below". In attempting to capture the consciousness and experience of ordinary people, this study implicitly acknowledges the value of "people's history". However, some of the questions which this project raises need to be made more explicit.

Raphael Samuel has stated that:

People's history always represents some sort of attempt to broaden the basis of history, to enlarge its subject matter, make use of new raw materials and offer new maps of knowledge. (2)

In South Africa the writing of a creative and rounded "alternative" history still faces many problems, not the least being, as Shula Marks and Belinda Bozzoli have noted, the low level of popular participation in history-writing.⁽³⁾ Furthermore, the project outlined by Samuel would be impeded rather than advanced by any rigid divisions between various disciplines. Perhaps this is partly what Fernand Braudel was alluding to when he spoke of 'total history'. Although a history which attempts to grasp the totality of human activity and social change remains an unreachable ideal, it provides the social historian with a useful touchstone, no matter

(1) E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, 1982), p.213.

(2) Raphael Samuel, People's History and Socialist Theory (London, 1981), p.xvi.

(3) See Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, p.6; and Shula Marks, 'Towards a People's History of South Africa? Recent Developments in the Historiography of South Africa', in R. Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory, p.304.

how localized his or her level of study might be. Similarly, a "history from above" is no less important than a "history from below", for, as one respected historian has noted, without the former the latter, in the end, becomes one-sided.⁽⁴⁾

The recovery of the lived historical experience of those classes and groups which official records, and many South African historians, have tended to ignore, is clearly not sufficient in itself. Rather, it needs to be allied to an understanding of how these people's shared experience of particular objective economic conditions of existence found expression in cultural terms, through a process of struggle.

"Culture" provides subordinate classes with, amongst other things, a means of survival through the organisation of daily life. As Genovese has noted: "The way a people cooks its food and the kind of food it cooks reveals a good deal about its spirit".⁽⁵⁾ Raymond Williams has defined culture as the "study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life".⁽⁶⁾ While the expansiveness of this definition of culture provides a useful rejoinder to those who would use the term to refer to literary and artistic works, it is too broad to be of analytical use. "Culture" is more usefully understood as the means whereby social groups "handle" the lived experience of their material conditions of existence to produce an expression and representation of these conditions

(4) Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (London, 1980), p.11.

(5) E. Genovese, 'Class, Culture and Historical Process', Dialectical Anthropology, Vol.1, No.1, 1975, p.71.

(6) Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London, 1965), p.63.

in a variety of attitudes, values, symbols and practices. (7)

In any society, those classes which rule subordinate classes attempt to achieve what Gramsci has referred to as "hegemony". This concept refers to the process whereby one concept of reality is diffused throughout society, over all social classes. This process involves the organisation of the spontaneous consent of subordinate classes by the ruling classes, and is combined with other measures that foster forms of consciousness which accept a position of subordination. (8) Hegemony refers to the way in which these subordinate classes assimilate this dominant ideology as 'common sense'. (9) In capitalist society, however, there is no unambiguous correspondence between the diffusion of hegemony throughout society, and the way

(7) A meaningful entry into the 'culturalism' debate is not possible here. For the parameters of the debate see Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory, pp. 375-408. The two poles of the debate are to be found in the essays by Richard Johnson and E.P. Thompson. Stuart Hall provides a valuable "middle path". Thompson provides a more clearly enunciated definition of culture than his previous attempts in works such as The Poverty of Theory (London, 1978). Broadly, Thompson uses the concept "experience" - a 'junction concept' which facilitates the movement from the level of social being or 'lived experience' (structured and determined by the mode of production) to social consciousness or 'perceived experience'. In the latter realm, cultural forms puncture the dominant ideology and provide the subjective conditions for class struggle. For criticisms of this position see Perry Anderson, Arguments Within English Marxism (London, 1980), pp.201-37.

(8) Stuart Hall, B.G. Lumley and Gregor McLennan, 'Politics and Ideology: Gramsci' in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, On Ideology (London, 1978), p.49.

(9) The, at times, hieroglyphic usage of language by Gramsci, can be confusing. 'Common sense', 'folk-lore' or 'lived culture' collectively refer to the incoherent, and at times contradictory set of assumptions and beliefs, held by the mass of the population at any one time. 'Common sense', however, can form the basis for the expression of a counter-hegemonic ideology or philosophy by subordinate groups, hence the stake which the ruling classes have in the form of 'lived culture'. See Q.Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (eds.), Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (London, 1971), pp.419-25

in which the dominant culture is assimilated as 'common sense' by subordinate classes. Rather, hegemony is a process, an arena of cultural struggle with its own highly complex internal structures which have to be continually reviewed, recreated and defended.⁽¹⁰⁾

The contradictions between popular conceptions of the world and the dominant culture are manifested in these popular conceptions themselves; between ideas borrowed from ruling ideologies and those spontaneously generated through the experience of subordinate classes of shared material conditions of existence. The ideas, symbols, practices and attitudes which are an expression of frequently punishing material conditions, provide a means whereby popular classes handle these conditions. For example, it is doubtful whether official descriptions of shebeens in Durban as 'sinks of riot and debauchery', meshed with popular perceptions of the shebeen. It remains difficult to document the changing character of these important social institutions through time. However, it is clear that shebeens in Durban and its surrounding suburbs represented generally defensive attempts by Durban's African labouring poor to make their punishing conditions of existence more habitable.

Popular culture, while often characterized by acquiescence, can assume a potentially oppositional character, depending on conscious leadership and organisation. Similarly, the culture of dominated classes in capitalist society is central to the passivity or militancy of these classes,⁽¹¹⁾ and the ways in

(10) Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, p.18.

(11) See Eddie Koch, '"Without Visible Means of Subsistence": Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918-1940', in Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, p.155. Koch is careful to note that "Marabi culture" - a generic name to describe the existence of a series of informal economic and recreational activities developed by black proletarians on the Reef between the two world wars, was not overtly political.

which subordinate groups go about organizing daily life are not necessarily functional to the needs of capital. Williams has made a useful distinction between "oppositional" and "alternative" cultures, in each of which there are both residual and emergent forms.⁽¹²⁾ Williams has stated:

The difficulties of human practice outside or against the dominant mode are, of course, real. It depends very much whether it is an area in which the dominant class and the dominant culture have an interest and a stake. If the interest and the stake are explicit, many new practices will be reached for, and if possible incorporated, or else extirpated with extraordinary vigour. (13)

It will be argued in this thesis that popular consumption of 'poisonous concoctions' was clearly perceived by capital as a threat to the achievement of optimum productivity. Similarly, when the 'healthy outlet of native energies' allowed for by popular ngoma dancing provided the vocabulary for marching groups of African beer hall pickets, the meaning of 'traditional' dances became significantly transformed in the eyes of Durban's white rulers.

In general terms then, ruling classes have an unambiguous stake in popular cultural forms and thus, popular culture tends to become a crucial area of struggle between the

(12) "Residual" refers to experiences, meanings and values which cannot be expressed in terms of the dominant culture and which are practiced on the basis of the residue of a previous social formation. "Emergent" refers to new meanings, values, practices etc., continually being created. The imperative of the dominant culture to incorporate the latter is more pressing than the former. See Raymond Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture (London, 1980), pp.40-41.

(13) Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, p.43. Of course there are other practices which at times the dominant culture is "unable to recognize in any real terms".

dominant and dominated classes. Johnson has noted:

Working class culture is the form in which labour is reproduced ... reproduction ... is always a contested transformation, working class culture is formed in the struggle between capital's demand for particular forms of labour power and the search for a secure location within this relation of dependency. (14)

The genesis of capitalism creates conditions of existence which are lived and experienced along class lines, and hence the potential for the emergence of a "class culture" exists. However, it is extremely doubtful if one can even begin to talk about self-conscious class-based urban cultures in South Africa. In Durban, for the period under discussion, what we find is that the cultural and political expression of subordinate classes is usually fused in popular alliances between workers, teachers, clerics, petty traders and African middle and aspirant middle classes.⁽¹⁵⁾ Up until 1936 the experience of urban life by the majority of Africans in Durban was greatly tempered by their rural connections. Similarly, any understanding of African class formation in Durban needs to be tempered by a grasp of the highly fluid character of social relations within the town's popular classes. This point is most clearly captured through a study of Durban's middle and aspirant middle classes.⁽¹⁶⁾ For these reasons, it seems more appropriate to talk of popular culture in Durban, although

-
- (14) Richard Johnson, 'Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working Class Culture' in J. Clarke, C. Critcher, R. Johnson (eds.), Working Class Culture (London, 1979), p.237 (emphasis in original).
- (15) This point has been made in relation to number of Witwatersrand studies. See Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Country-side in the Transvaal, p.41.
- (16) Philip Bonner's work is highly suggestive in this regard. See Philip Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920: the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, pp.270-313.

the gradual emergence of a self-conscious urban culture needs to be recognized.

It has been noted by English historians that:

The borough, which usually provides the boundary for a town-based local history, is an administrative not a social unit, and neither culturally self-sufficient nor in many cases, topographically distinct. (17)

A major concern of this study is to point to the particularity of those struggles between emergent African urban classes and the dominant classes in Durban. It emphasizes the importance of a regional historiography which seeks to understand how the larger processes of state control, class formation and consciousness assumed particular forms. However, as the above quotation suggests, it is essential that studies which concentrate on the specificities of regional class struggle avoid seeping into parochialism. Jerry White has indicated the potential of a highly detailed and localised study of a small community, to map out the wider social processes of which this community was only a part. (18)

The notion of the existence of self-conscious urban culture in Durban, as has been noted above, needs to be approached with caution. A social history of Durban which does not take sufficient account of the regional economy of Natal, must inevitably be compromised. African cultural and political expression in Durban before 1936, was as much rooted in the popular experience of labour coercion in the town as in economic hardship in Natal's countryside. The form of African cultural and political expression frequently recalled the symbols and practices of rural societies in Natal and

(17) Editorial, History Workshop, Issue 8, 1979, p.v.

(18) See Jerry White, 'Campbell Bank: A Lumpen Community in London between the Wars', History Workshop, Issue 8, 1979, pp.1-49.

Zululand. Between 1908 and 1936 the majority of Durban's shebeens tended to be located immediately outside the boundaries of the Borough, thus partially escaping the activities of the local police force until the extension of the Borough boundary in 1932. The administrative unit defined by the Borough of Durban should thus be seen in terms of the underlying social, economic and cultural continuities between the town and the surrounding countryside.

However, in certain respects the specificity of the local urban context cannot pass unrecognized. For example the notion of a "Durban system" suggests the particular form which native administration took in Durban. Moreover, this system of urban management and control was wrought through a particular struggle over African access to drink. The municipalisation of beer production was rooted in a more general struggle over the forms of the culture of African popular classes, precisely because the constitution of a new social order around capital required a process of, what Stuart Hall has referred to as, "re-education".⁽¹⁹⁾ In Durban, this struggle found particular forms of expression. Popular opposition was moulded by a tradition of resistance (going back, at least, to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879), as well as by the experiences and perceptions of Africans living and working in the sometimes violent environment provided by South Africa's 'most British' town. Although inevitably related to broader economic realities in Natal and South Africa, the urban context of these struggles is important. While symbols and practices based in a rural culture were frequently mobilised, this response was significantly generated by the popular experience of specifically urban forms of social control. This study attempts to periodize the development of urban control in Durban in relation to state urban policy. In doing so the term "local state" has

(19) Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing "The Popular"', in R. Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory, p.227.

been used in an attempt to specify social relations at the local level.

European writers have made increasing use of the term the "local state" and in South Africa the term can be found in a growing body of research.⁽²⁰⁾ It is precisely the relative autonomy of social relations and government institutions occurring at the local level, which the term "local state" addresses itself to.⁽²¹⁾

It is suggested below that, not only was the local state in Durban relatively independent of the central state, but that there was also some degree of autonomy between different branches of the local state, such as the municipal Native Administration Department and the Town Council.

In one study of the Johannesburg Municipality in the post-1948 period it has been claimed that the municipality is a branch of the state and thus assists in the reproduction of the "conditions of accumulation of the total social capital".⁽²²⁾ It seems that if a changing set of social relations which find expression through local institutions, are understood in this way, any analytical need for the term "local state" falls away. Similarly, the usage of the term "local state" in a manner which reduces it to the local manifestation of the

(20) See, for example, Hemson, 'Class Consciousness'; Mark Swilling, 'The Politics of Working Class Struggles in Germiston, 1979-1983', unpublished paper presented to History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984; and Eddie Koch, '"Without Visible Means of Subsistence"'.

(21) For a useful discussion of the local state, see P. Wilkinson, 'The "Local State" as a Conceptual Problem: An Exploration of Some Recent Marxist Work', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, 1983.

(22) Richard de Villiers, 'The State, Capital and Labour Allocation - The Johannesburg Municipality 1948-62', Africa Perspective, No.12, 1979, pp.21-2.

functions of the central state, appears to negate its employment in the first place. The notion that local government tends to be a passive reflection of the needs of central government is hardly novel. In 1945 the Social and Economic Planning Council put it neatly:

It is emphatically the case that local government indirectly constitutes an instrument for the promotion and furtherance of national policy and prosperity. It is an essential cog in the national wheel. (23)

The historical experience of South Africa strongly suggests that social relations occurring in sub-national areas cannot be "simply reduced to or equated with those occurring at a national level". (24) It is precisely this differential historical experience at the local level which stands to vindicate the explanatory promise of the term "local state".

The periodisation of central state urban policy suggests the extent to which the local state in Durban remained independent of central state control. Indeed, one inescapable conclusion of this study is the surprising extent of this autonomy. It can be seen, for example, in the manner in which African housing in Durban was financed through beer hall profits. It is also suggested in the formulation of a centralised state urban policy in 1923. In a number of important respects, the Urban Areas Act was based on the experience of native administration in Durban. The by no means functional relationship between the local level and the central state is most clearly seen in the retention, until 1936, of the Durban Borough Police as an apparatus of the local state. When the central government took over the control of the

(23) Social and Economic Planning Council, Report No.8, Local Government Functions and Finances, U.G. 40-1945, p.6.

(24) See P. Wilkinson, 'The "Local State" as a Conceptual Problem', p.8.

Borough Police in 1936, the local state lost a crucial aspect of its autonomy. This study makes no claims towards resolving the conceptual problems posed by the term the "local state". Where it has attempted to grasp the specificity and relative autonomy of social relations at the local level, this has been in predominantly empirical terms. It would not be unfair to claim that this engagement in empirical work is an essential part of coming to grips with major theoretical problems.

Part II The Colonial "Liquor Question" in Natal, 1875-1902 .

Have you any law preventing people from drinking or selling beer made in your country? - No that is the food of the Zulus; they drink it as the English drink coffee. Then everyone can drink as much as he likes in Zululand? - They drink it as much as the English drink coffee. Does it not make them drunk? - Some do get drunk when they drink too much. Are they punished? - No, unless a man does something wrong when he is drunk.

(Cetshwayo before the Native Laws and Customs Commission, Cape Town, July 1881)

In nineteenth century Natal and Zululand, beer was generally both a staple food and a convenient, acceptable and easily-consumed article of exchange, with symbolic significance for social relationships. The traditional beer brewed in Natal and Zululand was utshwala, a generic name for a variety of different beers. The thick reddish-grey brew was usually made from amabele, otherwise known as 'Kaffir corn' or sorghum, or from mealies and various forms of millet. The process of beer preparation, depending on locality and season, could take between four and fourteen days. The product was a beverage of low alcoholic content. If extended fermentation were allowed, a brew, usually containing not more than two percent alcohol by weight, could be transformed into a highly intoxicating drink. (25)

(25) A.T. Bryant, A Description of Native Foodstuffs and their Preparation (Pietermaritzburg, 1907), pp.5-6. (Copy in Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg).

The food and dietary value of utshwala is potentially high. Its dietary value lies not only in its thin cereal gruel quality, but also in the small quantities of vitamins which provide it with anti-scorbutic value and the various yeasts generated by its preparation. ⁽²⁶⁾ Colonial officials in Natal frequently made reference to the wholesome food value of utshwala. In 1908 one member of the Natal Legislative Council claimed that:

The Native custom for ages past has been to treat Kaffir beer as an article for use as a food and for purposes of hospitality. When made by the natives themselves in small quantities, it is not only a refreshing drink but a wholesome food, containing ... a very small proportion of alcohol. ⁽²⁷⁾

When the colonial state in Natal passed legislation enforcing the prohibition of all alcohol besides municipally-brewed utshwala, this innovation was partly justified on the grounds of the latter's 'customary' food value. In nineteenth century Natal and Zululand, beer drinking appears to have been closely interwoven with everyday rural life, functioning as an exchange for services rendered, as a means of tribute and also as a way of placing others under obligation. The production and consumption of utshwala was also closely interwoven with the rituals of initiation, marriage and death. ⁽²⁸⁾ Beer drinks were a ubiquitous part of the rural landscape in Natal and Zululand in the nineteenth century and provided one of the most popular forms of social intercourse amongst Africans in these regions.

(26) See F.W. Fox, 'Notes on the Method of Preparation, Composition and Nutritional Value of Certain Kaffir Beers', South African Chemical Institute Journal, Vol.21, 1938, pp.39-54.

(27) Killie Campbell Library, Durban, Marshall Campbell Papers, File No.4, K.C.H. 32609, Marshall Campbell to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 11 November 1908.

(28) See, for example, Eileen Krige, The Social System of the Zulus (Pietermaritzburg, 1950), p.58; and L.H. Samuelson, Zululand, Its Traditions, Legends, Customs and Folklore (reprinted Durban, 1974), p.95.

The practice of beer brewing and drinking in pre-industrial African societies in Natal and Zululand did not exist in a world of changeless perpetuity. Social, economic and cultural transformations internal to African societies in nineteenth century Natal, experienced further impetus from the arrival of about 5 000 white settlers between 1849 and 1851. By 1887 the number of white settlers had increased to 35 866, of which close on a quarter had settled in the port town of Durban.⁽²⁹⁾ These settlers struggled to come to terms with an alien environment and labour shortages. They found themselves in a colony where, in the 1850's and 1860's, the ownership of land became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few absentee landlords.⁽³⁰⁾ Many settlers sold off their lands to those companies from whom they had purchased them, or to land speculators. Those who did choose to remain on the land attempted to institute commercial farming. Central to the struggle of white farmers to transform existing social relations in the countryside into productive capitalist relations, was the question of African access to land. So long as Africans in Natal retained independent access to the means of subsistence, or remained relatively independent of external coercion, white capitalist agriculture in the colony could not be established on a sound basis.⁽³¹⁾ The genesis and development of conflict between the various competing landed interests in Natal's countryside, between the middle of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth, have been sketched by

(29) See E.H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb, A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), p.158. Durban's African population in 1885 numbered 4 521.

(30) See Henry Slater, 'Land, Labour and Capitalism in Natal, The Natal Land and Colonisation Company, 1860-1948', Journal of African History, Vol.16, No.2, 1975, pp.257-83.

(31) See Henry Slater, 'The Changing Pattern of Economic Relationships in Rural Natal, 1838-1914', Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, No.16, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 1973, p.46.

Bundy and Slater.⁽³²⁾ Both these writers see the Natives Land Act of 1913 - with its provisions against African land purchase, rent-squatting and sharecropping - as the political affirmation of the economic shift away from forms of surplus extraction inimical to commercial farming.⁽³³⁾ However, it is doubtful whether the political and economic domination of white commercial farmers, particularly those in the Midlands of Natal, was ushered in by the 1913 Land Act. Rather, as evidence elsewhere suggests, this process was gradual and uneven and its outcome was as much determined from above as from below.⁽³⁴⁾ This is suggested by endemic complaints of labour shortages, frequently by coastal planters, well into the 1900's.

In 1876, the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs had cause to note that there was 'no necessity sufficiently pressing to induce (Africans) to labour continuously'. Moreover, he continued:

up to a recent date the labour of the women sufficed for the support of their families, and the payment of their Hut Tax; the grain sufficed for food, and the brewing of a coarse kind of beer which they consume in large quantities. (35)

(32) Colin Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, 1979), pp.165-96; and Slater, 'Land, Labour and Capitalism in Natal'; 'The Changing Pattern of Economic Relationships'.

(33) For a more general overview see M.L. Morris, 'The Development of Capitalism in Southern African Agriculture: Class and Struggle in the Countryside, Economy and Society, Vol.5, 1976, pp.292-343.

(34) This emphasis is brought out by two studies which do not, however, cover Natal. See Tim Keegan, 'The sharecropping economy, African class formation and the Natives Land Act of 1913 in the highveld maize belt', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), Industrialization and Social Change, pp.195-211; and Paul Rich, 'The agrarian counter-revolution in the Transvaal and the origins of segregation 1902-1913', unpublished paper presented to the African Studies Seminar Programme, University of the Witwatersrand, 1975, pp.1-22.

(35) Natal Archives, Government House, Vol.1555, J. Ayliff. Acting S.N.A. to Governor of Natal, 31 May 1876.

By the late 1870's the connections between labour shortages and African beer brewing and drinking were clarified in the eyes of both colonial officials and white farmers. The production of utshwala in large quantities by Africans in Natal suggests the extent to which grain surpluses were being converted into alcohol.⁽³⁶⁾ Certainly, in official correspondence, the brewing of large quantities of utshwala and the capacity of African rural producers to resist wage labour on settler farms, were viewed as part of the same reality. If beer brewing in rural society in Natal in the 1870's and 1880's was symbolic of the independence of Natal's peasantry, then popular drunkenness, the subject of numerous debates and investigations from the 1870's onwards, was the form in which this fact was most clearly apprehended by white settlers.

In 1877 a survey of all magisterial districts in Natal pointed to the conclusion that drunkenness and the use of intoxicating liquor generally, was on the increase amongst Africans in Natal.⁽³⁷⁾ In terms of Law No.18 of 1863, the sale of intoxicating liquors to Africans was prohibited. The law proved ineffective. Spirituous liquor could be obtained, either directly or through an intermediary, from numerous country canteens and licensed dealers. Concern was specifically directed at the use of spirits such as colonial rum (cane spirits) and the illicit brewing of isitshimiyane. This highly

(36) African sorghum production between 1867 and 1897 was far greater than settler production in Natal. The contribution of Africans to colonial revenue rose from £33 000 in 1872 to £63 000 in 1880. See Patrick Harries, 'Labour Migration from Mozambique to South Africa; with special reference to the Delagoa Bay hinterland, c.1862-1897', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1983, pp.82-84.

(37) Correspondence re Increased Drunkenness among the Native population, Natal Legislative Council, Separate Publication No.17, 1877. The problem of precisely measuring changes in qualitative aspects of life such as drunkenness is not easy to resolve. For some useful comments in this regard see Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (London, 1971), p.34.

intoxicating drink was a derivative of utshwala but the main ingredient, treacle, was freely obtainable in the sugar-growing regions of Natal. The Acting Resident Magistrate of Umvoti expressed astonishment at finding coastal kraals where 'men, women and children had so given way to the habit of drinking that all were under its influence at the same time, and that consequently all industry and progress was at a stand-still'. The diet of these people appeared to be 'principally shimian and mussels'. (38)

Another report of 1876 pointed to drinking among 'so-called Christianised Kafirs' and the consumption of spirits by a people 'not always content with enormous quantities of utyala'. (39) Perhaps the most revealing observations came from W.J. Dunbar Moodie. He noted that the 'craving for strong drink' was widespread amongst Africans of both sexes in the Colony. In suggesting reasons for this, he noted 'the growing wealth and change of habit of the Natives' and their 'freedom from adequate taxation'. (40)

Two points clearly emerge from this lengthy correspondence on African alcohol production and consumption in Natal. Firstly, that popular drunkenness, while a very real problem in terms of disrupting labour supplies, pointed to the more fundamental fact of a relatively independent population of African rural producers. Secondly, that laws passed by the Natal colonial government could not be effected on the ground. The shift towards a government 'native policy' more directly expressive of the interests of white commercial farming capital, was to be evidenced more clearly during the early 1890's.

(38) Correspondence re Increased Drunkenness Among the Native Population, Acting Resident Magistrate, Umvoti to S.N.A., 11 September 1876, p.13.

(39) Correspondence re Increased Drunkenness Among the Native Population, Resident Magistrate, Inanda to S.N.A., 23 September 1876, p.11.

(40) Correspondence re Increased Drunkenness Among the Native Population, Resident Magistrate, Klip River to S.N.A., 9 September 1876, p.14.

Accompanying this shift came a greater degree of consensus over the question of African access to alcohol, since this issue was intimately related to the need of white commercial farmers for a plentiful and well-coerced supply of African labour.

Nineteenth century colonial government in Natal spawned a plethora of legislation to regulate the supply of liquor to Africans. None of this legislation proved entirely effective. This may be regarded as symptomatic of both the divisions within the ranks of the colonists, constituted at the political and economic levels, and the capacity of African rural producers to resist coercion through legislation. Under Law No.22 of 1878 as amended by Law No.10 of 1890, the sale and disposal of spirits and other intoxicating liquors to Africans was prohibited. However, in terms of Law No.18 of 1888 the sale of utshwala by license holders was permissible. This law suggested a recognition by the colonial government of the de facto production of beer by Africans in Natal.

By 1891 the consumption of utshwala was reported to have 'very considerably increased'. This was attributed by the Select Committee on the Supply of Liquor to Natives to the 'accumulation of wealth by Natives'. The larger areas of land which could be brought under cultivation with the newly-introduced plough, facilitated large-scale crop production.⁽⁴¹⁾ In an attempt to undermine this resilient rural production, it was proposed that the cultivation of amabele be limited or even taxed.⁽⁴²⁾ As was claimed in Natal's Legislative Assembly:

(41) Report of the Select Committee on the Supply of Liquor to Natives, No.37, 1891, p.613. Bundy has commented on the profound ramifications of the introduction of the plough among South Africa's peasantry. Where the plough was widely used, pastoralism gave way to cultivation as the basis of subsistence. See Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, p.95. Also see Harries, 'Labour Migration from Mozambique', p.82.

(42) Report of the Select Committee on the Supply of Liquor to Natives, p.615.

'A good crop of amabela in the country is a curse rather than anything else'.⁽⁴³⁾ Neither the tax nor the enforcement of limits on African crop production were imposed, not the least of the reasons for this being the fear that open rebellion would follow such moves.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The connection between increased consumption of sorghum beer and 'light taxation, increasing amabele crops, higher wages, peace and plenty and less difficulty in earning money', was made by members of the Select Committee.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The 'dis-integration' of existing tribal authority was closely allied in the minds of whites, to increased liquor consumption. Chiefs were reportedly frequently drunk and colonial officials claimed that the chiefs no longer possessed the power they once had.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The clearest index of this was the attendance of women and children at social beer drinkings which was regarded as 'an innovation on the Kafir customs'. Such meditations on the 'ruination of the native' were counterposed with the need for 'proper discipline' and the 'dignity of labour'.⁽⁴⁷⁾

By the late nineteenth century 'beer drinkings' began to evoke the virulence of white settlers and particularly commercial farmers in Natal. The problem of labour shortage appeared to be mirrored in these social gatherings, bottomless wells from

(43) Debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly, 6 April 1897, p.136.

(44) Debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly, 6 April 1897, p.138.

(45) Report of the Select Committee on the Supply of Liquor to Natives, p.616.

(46) Natal Archives, Colonial Secretary's Office (hereafter C.S.O.), Vol.1394, 2070/1895, Report of Magistrate, Upper Tugela, 1895.

(47) Report of the Committee on the Supply of Intoxicating Liquor to Natives, 1892, pp.13-14, p.25, p.31. Also Blue Book for Native Affairs, Report of A. Morling, Lion's River Division, 1895, p.27.

which nothing could be drawn. In 1894 the Natal Farmers Conference passed a resolution calling on the government to regulate beer drinking gatherings.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Circular No.15 of 1893, which made Kraal heads responsible for the control of these gatherings, had not proved effective in controlling beer drinkings. A prime mover for new legislation was J.S. Marwick, who noted that:

beer-drinkings are a curse to the country. Little children have as great a craving for the drink as the grown-up people. Women neglect their ordinary duties and leave their huts, to go routing about the country to these beer-drinkings, and they even use the drink to wean their children ... beer-drinkings are - got up for the purposes of immorality. (49)

By the 1890's, the 'liquor question' had become inextricably linked to that of labour supply. Not only did endemic beer drinkings suggest African agricultural surpluses and hence, the capacity of Africans to resist service on farms occupied by whites, but they also produced an unreliable and inefficient labour supply. In Natal's Legislative Assembly it was pointed out that:

these beer drinkings deprive the Colony of its labour supply, for so long as (they) continue so long will the idler go from one beer gathering to another ... tomorrow they turn up late, totally unfit to do their work. (50)

The control of beer drinkings, which rested with overworked local magistrates, remained largely unchecked.⁽⁵¹⁾

(48) C.S.O. Vol.1394, 2074/1895, Extract from Memoranda of Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Natal Farmers Conference, 22 March 1894.

(49) G.H. Vol.1545, Deputation to the Government to Discuss Matters Concerning the Labour Question, 12 December 1895. See also Times of Natal, 29 March 1895.

(50) Debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly, 6 April 1897, p.135,

(51) For a comparative study see J. Bor, 'Liquor and Labour of the Cape in the Late Nineteenth Century', Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1978.

However, the passing of Act 38 of 1896 provided for greater control over the access of Africans to stronger liquor. Furthermore, Act 36 of 1899 prohibited the sale or supply of any intoxicating or fermented liquor to Africans. This provision included utshwala as a prohibited drink, except under licensed supply. Section 4 of the Act allowed 'the sale and supply of Native beer by Native women, according to their usual practice, and not as a permanent business'. This contradictory and imprecise liquor legislation, not surprisingly, met with limited success. African women resisted Section 4 of Act 36 and continued to sell beer from 'sinks of riot and debauchery'.⁽⁵²⁾ Isitshimiyane drinking and brewing continued unabated⁽⁵³⁾ and it was only in 1905 that Act No.27 totally prohibited its supply and consumption. All legislation prior to 1906 had failed to specifically define utshwala as an 'intoxicating liquor'. However, in terms of Act 44 of 1906 existing doubts in relation to the definition of utshwala were removed. Beer was specifically mentioned as an intoxicating liquor and thus its sale, barter or supply was forbidden.⁽⁵⁴⁾

While Bundy's periodisation of the rise and fall of Natal's peasantry is open to criticism, his assertion that the political economy of Natal underwent some important changes after 1890, and especially after the granting of responsible government in 1893, appears largely valid. The fact that the locus of political power shifted to commercial farming capital and its allies, finds some degree of corroboration in the amount of

(52) G.H. Vol.1546, 452/1902, Sir H. McCallum to F.R. Moor, 2 June 1902.

(53) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/295, 905/1902, J. Knight, Magistrate Inanda to S.N.A., 20 March 1902.

(54) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/390, 178/1908, Judge President, Native High Court to Minister for Native Affairs, 17 January 1908.

energy with which the liquor question was debated and legislated upon after the 1890's.

Despite legislation controlling the production and consumption of beer by Africans in Natal's countryside, the de facto brewing and drinking of beer continued. The long road to agrarian capitalism in South Africa called forth the general "re-education" of popular classes in the countryside. In Natal, Africans had to be taught 'fresh views', 'new habits' and the 'importance of artificial wants'.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Aspects of existing rural culture in Natal demanded modification and marginalisation by the ruling classes. Clearly, the uncontrolled production and consumption of utshwala was one of these aspects. In 1902 the editor of the Natal Mercury commented:

We must temper our worship of the "native custom" fetish with common sense, and if the native custom is harmful, not only to the natives themselves, but to Europeans and to the best interests of the Colony, then the custom must undergo some modification. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Most importantly, Africans had to be 'taught' sobriety. In Natal's growing towns, particularly in Durban - the largest and most important urban centre in the Colony - the need to carry through these lessons was of equal importance. By the turn of the century, however, the port town of Durban seemed to embody the failure of this process of "re-education".

(55) G.H. Vol.1555, Acting S.N.A. to Governor of Natal, 1876.

(56) Natal Mercury, 26 April 1902. The attempts by colonial officials to render African production and consumption of beer compatible with the needs of a developing capitalist society was often fought on the basis of the importance of beer in a timeless rural past. For example, once beer monopoly legislation was passed in Natal in 1908, municipal Native Affairs officials could safely claim that municipal monopoly was a positive attempt to 'teach (the African) moderation in regard to (his) own beverage to which he has been accustomed from time immemorial'. As the editor's comments indicate, such comments could not safely be made in 1902.

CHAPTER ONE

'DARKEST DURBAN': AFRICAN LABOUR, BEER BREWING AND THE RE-WORKING OF A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PRACTICE, 1900-1909.

... during the last seven or eight years, I have become more and more convinced that the existing system, or, more correctly, want of system, of rule, control, and provision for the native is one which ought not to be tolerated one hour longer than is possible ... I am speaking from his standpoint. He is in many instances bundled from pillar to post, he lives under insanitary conditions, he lives an almost irresponsible life; that is to say, he is almost out of control ... there are five or six thousand men right in the middle of town exposed to temptations of various sorts in the shape of drink. What would be thought of us if there was a serious riot in the middle of the large towns?

(R.C. Jameson, M.L.C. and Chairman of Durban Town Council's Sanitary Committee, before the First Natal Municipal Conference, Pietermaritzburg, 22 September 1904).

... the drunkard himself is best described as follows:

For when this vice has taken hold of him it is "farewell industry" ... there are only two animals which can be made drunk, the monkey because he is a fool and the pig because he is a glutton, therefore the man who allows himself to be brought to the level of either deserves no compassion.

(R.C. Alexander, Superintendent of the Borough Police, 3 August 1902).

The depression of the world economy between 1873 and 1896 was characterised by a general falling of prices. However, in South Africa there was a sharp increase in the exploitation of mineral wealth in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand. In Natal this period also witnessed the increased production of bunkering coal as well as the rapid expansion of the sugar industry. Together with a discernable increase in trade and the establishment of the Natal Government Railways after 1875, Durban's position as a prime link with the interior, was consolidated.

By 1904 the newly-improved harbour facilities of the port town were bearing the brunt of this expansion and called forth increased capital expenditure and demand for labour. The new system of a £60 000 coal-loading plant with a daily capacity of 4 000 tons, stood in sharp contrast to the old system of manual portage of coal by African labourers. The tonnage of vessels cleared between 1875 and 1900 rose from 100 000 tons to roughly 900 000 tons.⁽¹⁾ Early industries were mainly concerned with supplying the needs of a predominantly agrarian colony.⁽²⁾ However, this dependence on agriculture in the countryside had waned by the turn of the century. Economic activity became predominantly based on inland commerce; wagon making, wool washing and particularly on the growing number of foundries and machine shops to be found in Durban. Railway shops were established and the wool processing industry migrated to Durban along with brokers and shipping offices.⁽³⁾ By the early 1900's, in response to the general economic development of Natal, a fair number of engineering concerns had been established. These catered for the wagon and shipping trade and were also responsible for services and repairs to the machinery of the coastal sugar estates and the coal mining industry of Northern Natal.⁽⁴⁾ By 1904, the port town's economic output represented fifty-two percent of the Colony's output as a whole.

Despite these developments, manufacturing capital in Durban prior to the First World War can hardly be regarded as conspicuous. In 1904, Durban was essentially a non-industrial urban setting:

(1) See D. Hemson, 'Class Consciousness and Migrant Workers: Dockworkers of Durban', p.20, pp.60-1.

(2) See N. Hurwitz, Agriculture in Natal 1860-1950, Natal Regional Survey, Vol.12 (Cape Town, 1957), pp.10-11.

(3) For a general overview see M.W. Swanson, 'The Rise of Multi-Racial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930', pp.269-72.

(4) See M. Katzen, Industry in Greater Durban, Part I (Pietermaritzburg, 1961), p.59

an important port town dominated by merchant capital held by shopkeepers and traders (who dealt in tea, coffee and sugar, amongst other goods), as well as various stevedoring and shipping companies. In response to the particular needs of local capital in Durban, the African working population, which by 1904 numbered 18 929, was channelled into four main types of labour. These were: togt, or day, labour (largely comprising dockworkers), washermen, ricksha pullers and monthly contract workers - many of whom were domestic servants. Given the centrality of the port for the general economic activity of the town, dockworkers represented one of the earliest recognised forms of African labour in Durban. Of the 76 700 African male workers in wage employment in Natal in 1904, 5 100 were to be found working as dock workers in Durban.

Labour Fees, Barracks and Social Control

As early as 1873, Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, promulgated a 'togt labour system'. This comprised a cohesive corpus of rules and regulations aimed at expunging the 'unnecessary uncertainty in the supply of daily labour', which was available only at 'exorbitant wages'. By promulgating these regulations Shepstone recognised the existence of day labour. This recognition, however, was an economic expedient and Shepstone himself was acutely aware of the social and economic threat which togt labour posed to white rule in the town. (5)

(5) In his Memorandum of May 1873, Shepstone claimed that togt labour:

'discourages orderly and regular monthly service because it exhibits to natives so employed comparatively large monthly gains coupled with an attractive but unwholesome liberty ... such a condition must produce demoralisation, lead to drunkenness and tempt to every form of vice.'

Quoted in Natal Archives, Superintendent of Police Report Book (hereafter P.R.B.) No.6, 6 March 1901. For the changing size of Durban's and Natal's African working population see Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.54-59.

The attention which togt workers drew from native administration in Durban was based on the apparent facility with which they pushed up wages and resisted the control of both employers and the Borough Police. The problem of a potentially dangerous reserve army of labour (elements which togt workers embodied) remained a perennial barb in the flesh of Durban's white rulers well into the twentieth century. The togt labour system appears as a response to both the configuration of local capital and the relative independence of Africans in the countryside of Natal and Zululand. As R.C. Alexander, Superintendent of the Borough Police, noted before the South African Native Affairs Commission:

No merchant however rich can afford to keep a sufficient stock of Natives on hand for all emergencies; he must fall back upon someone; and that is the difficulty Sir Theophilus Shepstone had ... to know what to do with these extra men. (6)

The Togg Regulations of 1874 had been introduced in order to provide an efficient conduit for labour, and to depress generally high togt wages. All African workers were obliged to register, either as togt labourers or monthly servants, within five days of entering town. The togt worker was obliged to wear a badge reflecting his registration number and if offered work at minimum rates, was forced to accept. Registration fees were 2s.6d. per month and contravention of the regulations could take the form of either a fine of 20s. or hard labour.

By 1902 these regulations, together with a rudimentary administration in which police coercion assumed a central importance, had not achieved their desired ends. In 1901, R.C. Alexander stated that togt labour was indispensable, but that the original regulations required substantial alteration 'for the better management of these men'.⁽⁷⁾ The Superintendent of Durban's Borough Police, breathing the frustrated vision of the town's ruling classes, claimed:

(6) South African Native Affairs Commission (hereafter S.A.N.A.C.) 1903-05, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.655.

(7) P.R.B. No.6, 4 April 1901.

you hardly realise what it means to keep 15 000 able-bodied young savages distributed throughout the Borough in any sort of order especially now that the wages they receive are altogether out of proportion to their wants and far in excess of the work they perform. (8)

The provision of barracks for togt workers was a keystone of municipal policy after the inception of the 1874 regulations. In 1878 the first municipal barracks were completed with the aid of the Togg Fund. This fund, established under the Togg regulations of 1874, received all monies derived from the togt workers' registration fees, as well as fines accruing from the transgression of the regulations. In 1902, the fee was raised to 5s, and barrack lodging fees to 2/6d. The Fund provided the financial support for Durban's native administration. (9) By 1880 only 60 labourers of a potential 1 000 were using the new barracks. Additional barracks established at the Point in 1892 similarly remained unpeopled; during 1900 there were only 250 men, at any one time, in barracks capable of housing at least 450. (10) Indeed, from 1900 onwards, the position of the local state in Durban remained fairly ambiguous. While desirous of forcing Africans to live in municipal barracks, and hence providing for the workforce's cheapness, control and coercion, little was done to force Africans out of backyards, rented rooms and 'dens of vice' and into the barracks. Clearly, this was an index of the capacity of Durban's African working population to resist being coerced into bleak and inhospitable barracks. It also suggested the nature of their bargaining power within the wage relation.

Even after the introduction of the Togg Labour Amendment Act of 1902 which made residence in barracks or licensed accommodation compulsory, and which also facilitated the passing of new bye-laws raising the togt fee to 5s, (11) the contradictions in

(8) P.R.B. No.6, 28 January 1901.

(9) For the amount of revenue which accrued to the Togg Fund between 1876 and 1904 see Appendix II.

(10) Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban', pp.319-20, 364.

(11) This coincided with the erection of the Point barracks which were capable of housing between 1 600 and 2 000 men. See S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.640.

the togt system were still apparent. The Superintendent of Police noted that togt workers, 'to escape the cost of a togt badge, induce(d) employers to enter their names on the books as monthly servants'.⁽¹²⁾ Despite the new regulations, African workers, particularly togt workers, could not be forced out of informal dwellings into unpopular barrack accommodation. While being impelled to allow workers to reside on their premises, employers fiercely resisted the particular form of social integration which stemmed from this situation.⁽¹³⁾ In apparent desperation, a draft scheme was formulated in 1904 for the accommodation of togt workers in closed compounds, along the lines of those in existence in Kimberley.⁽¹⁴⁾ This scheme, however, was never implemented.

The uneven struggles to refine social control through barrack accommodation were echoed by the mixed success of more general attempts to coerce and control Africans in Durban. A penal code provided against disorderliness, provocative language and 'indecent conduct'. The Vagrant Law (No.15 of 1869) was used against Africans who remained out after 9 pm without a pass, and the Identification of Native Servants Act of 1888 was amended in 1901 to allow for the increased control of Africans moving into the town. Approximately 8 000 out of 20 000 Africans were arrested each year in terms of these regulations, 'proportionately more than any part of the world'.⁽¹⁵⁾ This offensive against Africans, particularly the control extended through passes, had many shortcomings. The five-day pass for 'visitors' was used

(12) P.R.B. No.7, 2 November 1905. Out of 2 080 registered togt workers, only 290 were living in licensed private accommodation.

(13) See Natal Archives, Durban Corporation Letterbook (hereafter D.C.L.) No.547, Palethorpe and Plum Ricksha Co. to R. Jameson May 1904; and P.R.B. No.6, 4 February 1903.

(14) D.C.L. No.542, Draft Scheme for the Regulation of Native Day Labour at the Point, 1904. For the genesis of closed compounds in Kimberley see Rob Turrell, 'Kimberley: labour and compounds, 1871-1888', in S. Marks and R. Rathbone, (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, pp.45-76.

(15) S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.645.

by African work-seekers and by thousands of African women and children, and frequently provided a means of permanent entry into the town. Pass forgery, the swapping of passes and outright evasion led to the system being described as 'useless'.⁽¹⁶⁾ The use of fingerprints and character columns on passes were eventually viewed as the only viable means of rationalising this particular form of social control.⁽¹⁷⁾

The inability of local administration and employers to control labour suggests the uneven struggle of capital to establish a system of class rule in the town. The development of a system of hegemonic domination in Durban was a gradual and contradictory process.⁽¹⁸⁾ The reasons for the failure to establish effective apparatuses of control in Durban prior to 1909 should be viewed in terms of both the state of struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes, and the tensions within the ideological discourse of the town's white property owners.

In official reports the togt worker appears to have been ascribed greater significance than other sections of Durban's growing African workforce. The responses of the local state to the emergence of an African proletariat found their clearest expression in relation to the togt worker.

(16) D.C.L. No.555, Chief Constable (hereafter C.C.) to Chairman, Police Committee, 2 December 1905. For pass forgery see P.R.B. No.6, 6 October 1902, and D.C.L. No.582, C.C. to Chairman, Police Committee, May 1909.

(17) D.C.L. No.583, C.C. to Town Clerk (hereafter T.C.), 20 March 1908

(18) Gramsci has noted three stages in the development of a hegemonic order. The "third movement" in the second stage he describes as:

... the most purely political phase, and marks the decisive passage from the structure to the sphere of the complex superstructures; it is the phase in which previously germinated ideologies become "party", come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them or at least a single combination of them tends to prevail ... to propagate itself throughout society.

See Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (eds.), Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, pp.180-2.

Furthermore, the togt worker embodied those elements most subversive to a cheap and well-coerced supply of labour. However, the togt system never affected more than 25 to 30 percent of African workers in Durban. Reading the inscriptions carved by African labourers in the niches of a developing labour-coercive economy in Durban, the hand of the togt worker is only part of a more general text bearing the script of newly-proletarianised people engaged in a range of formal and informal occupations.

Ricksha Pullers, Domestic Servants, Washermen, Amalaitas, Prostitutes and Self-Employed Africans.

The sugar baron, Marshall Campbell, introduced the ricksha to Durban after importing the idea from Japan. The high-wheeled and long-shafted vehicles were modified when made locally and served as the main form of local transport in the Borough. From their first appearance on the streets in Durban in the early 1890's, the ricksha pullers occupied a prominent position within Durban's African working population. Ricksha registration generally came second only to togt registration, however, between 1904 and 1910 the former frequently outnumbered the latter.⁽¹⁹⁾ The men who were responsible for pulling over nine hundred rickshas were invariably viewed by Durban's white burgesses as the most rowdy, threatening and drunken section of the town's African workforce.⁽²⁰⁾ Undoubtedly, the reasons for these attitudes lay in the very nature of the ricksha puller's labour. The apparent autonomy sanctioned by the ricksha puller's occupation stood in sharp contrast to the vision of a physically controlled and well-coerced workforce. Moreover, 'demoralisation' was seen to be one inescapable condition of this physically onerous task. Ricksha pullers, especially during

(19) In 1908, for example, average monthly togt registrations numbered 956, while those for rickshas were as high as 1 218. See D.C.L., Monthly Reports of Office by Chief Constable for 1908.

(20) For white perceptions of the "dangerous potential" of ricksha pullers see P.R.B. No.6, 6 January 1902; and 26 May 1902. For violent deaths in ricksha sheds see P.R.B. No.7, 4 April 1906. See also G.H. Vol.1550, Report of R.C.A. Samuelson, 24 December 1907; and D.C.L. No.583, C.C. to T.C., 20 March 1908.

and immediately after the South African War, were reportedly involved in ferrying customers to Durban's vast network of brothels.⁽²¹⁾ The distinctive "uniform" of the ricksha puller clearly assisted in the forging of some degree of group consciousness amongst these men. Based upon the red-trimmed knickerbocker uniform of domestic servants, the ricksha pullers' attire extended to include elaborate headgear and striking designs sewn onto their clothes. In 1906, during the Bambatha rebellion, it did not pass white observers by that many of Durban's ricksha pullers were at the forefront of violent armed clashes with the Transvaal Volunteers, in the countryside of Natal.⁽²²⁾

The consciousness of rickshamen in Durban of their position within the subordinate classes in the town, found lucid expression in a number of important strikes. The two most important of these strikes occurred in 1918 and 1930.⁽²³⁾ On these occasions ricksha pullers came out, en bloc, in protest at their exploitation at the hands of Durban's ricksha owners.⁽²⁴⁾ While ricksha-pulling provided a potentially lucrative source of income for the newly-urbanised African, the initial capital outlay required by an individual seeking this employment was high. White ricksha owners had to be paid 2/6d. daily for the hire of the vehicle, while the municipality demanded both an initial and monthly registration fee. During times of economic depression it was difficult for the ricksha pullers to pay these fees.⁽²⁵⁾

In comparison to the ubiquitous ricksha puller, Durban's large

(21) See P.R.B. No.6, 6 January 1902; and S.N.A. Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907, Reports of Magistrates for Umlazi and Durban Divisions, 1907.

(22) See P.R.B. No.7, 31 July 1906.

(23) In April 1918, John Dube, founder member of the Natal Native Congress, as well as of the newspaper Ilanga lase Natal, led a march of 1 200 striking ricksha pullers through the streets of Durban. See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.169. For the 1930 ricksha strike see Chapter 5, p.218 below

(24) By 1913 there were over 900 privately-owned rickshas in Durban. See Appendix IV. It is unlikely that the number of rickshas before 1910 were greatly different.

(25) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold, C.I.D. to Chief Magistrate (hereafter C.M.), 14 January 1907.

population of domestic servants (or 'houseboys') is less-easily documented. Similarly, the size of Durban's African domestic servant population during the period 1902-1909 is difficult to gauge. From registration figures it would appear that their numbers fluctuated between 500 and 1 000. However, given the widespread abuse of the registration system, either through outright evasion or through pass forgery, it is probable that there were well over 2 000 domestic servants in Durban during this period. A growing number of African males were encouraged to seek wage labour in the town, especially after a series of natural disasters in rural Natal and Zululand in the late nineteenth century.⁽²⁶⁾ For these men, domestic service must have appeared a relatively attractive prospect. In 1902, it was reported that there were 'thousands of Natives employed as domestic servants all of whom are in receipt of high wages'.⁽²⁷⁾ The duties of the 'house-boy' ranged from cleaning and cooking to gardening and stable-keeping. While the 'undersized kitchen umfaan' was frequently noted at informal beer gatherings in the town, a prominent member of the Natal Native Congress, such as A.J. Mtetwa, could be found working in the garden of a wealthy Durban merchant.⁽²⁸⁾

Domestic servants were invariably supplied with accommodation on the property of white householders for whom they toiled. Various-ly described as 'hovels', 'dens' or kia's, servants quarters rapidly evolved into meeting and living places for the houseboy's comrades and relatives.⁽²⁹⁾ If the householder refused the request of a 'decent servant' to permit 'strange Kaffirs' on their premises, more often than not, the domestic servant would desert

(26) See C. Ballard, '"A Year of Scarcity". The 1896 Locust Plague in Natal and Zululand', South African Historical Journal, No.15, November 1983, pp.34-52.

(27) P.R.B. No.6, 6 January 1902.

(28) See Natal Archives, Durban Magistrates Correspondence (hereafter D.M.C.), Vol.511, File 27/507/1918, Native Agitation, C.M. to T.C., 29 July 1918. Mtetwa was a close ally of John Dube.

(29) D.C.L. No.546, C.C. to Chairman of the Police Committee, 11 January 1905.

his employer.⁽³⁰⁾ In many instances 'houseboys' rented rooms from Indian landlords in the centre of town. Apart from receiving, in most cases, food and accommodation from employers, the domestic servant was also supplied with a uniform. The, at times, tenuous form of social control represented by domestic servants' living quarters was echoed by the red-trimmed, khaki knickerbocker suit worn by 'houseboys'.⁽³¹⁾ While denying his individuality and affirming his subordinate social position, the uniform could become the basis of self-assertion. When R.C. Alexander warned Durban's white community against employing 'daring young thieves' as houseboys, he was acknowledging the criminal activities of the amalaïta gangs.⁽³²⁾ The most noticeable social aspect of these gangs was the prominence of the 'houseboy' within their ranks, signalled by the distinctive 'houseboy' uniforms. The majority of domestic servants in Durban between 1902 and 1909 were male because men were the first to leave African societies in Natal and Zululand and seek wage labour in the town. On the Witwatersrand during the same period, attempts were made by mining capital to force male domestics into productive labour on the mines, and replace them with female domestic servants.⁽³³⁾ A parallel movement did not occur in Durban. Forces of proletarianisation were dissimilar and there was no equivalent industrial pressure in the port town to encourage such a movement. However, a number of African women did find formal employment as domestic servants. Generally regarded as reliable, these women were permitted to 'live according to European customs' and share food and drink 'similar to that consumed by the employer's household'.⁽³⁴⁾

A further area of formal employment open to women was that of

(30) D.C.L. No.543, C.C. to T.C., 13 September 1904.

(31) For a useful comparative study of domestic service see Charles van Onselen, New Nineveh, pp.1-73. For discussion of 'houseboy's' dress see pp.38-39.

(32) P.R.B. No.6, 6 March 1900.

(33) See van Onselen, New Nineveh, pp.8-23.

(34) D.C.L. No.580, C.C. to T.C., 14 December 1908.

washing the soiled linen of Durban's white population. As with domestic service, most of those involved in this labour were male, although a number of women did find a secure place alongside laundrymen, either on the banks of the Umgeni River, in back-yards or in one of the ninety-one laundries in the town. The number of Africans involved in clothes-washing during this period seldom exceeded one hundred since washing tended to be the monopoly of Dhobis - a lowly caste of Indian washermen.⁽³⁵⁾ By the mid-twenties, the washing of linen by Africans as a distinct formal occupation became increasingly marginalised in the face of the growth of white and Indian-owned laundries.⁽³⁶⁾

Those Africans who registered as general monthly servants often engaged in domestic service. However, many also found work as members of the Borough Police, as employees in the offices of merchants or in machine shops. The manipulation by Africans of the Corporation registration system, either through evasion or incorrect registration, conferred a certain fluidity upon the labour profile of the town. The apprehension of local authority at this apparent independence of Durban's African workforce in the early 1900's was undoubtedly endorsed by a series of "spontaneous" strikes by toggt workers at the Point between 1901 and 1903.⁽³⁷⁾ The white vision of an uncontrolled workforce was further supported by the intermittent outbreak of riots within the labouring classes. In 1902, a series of violent clashes between several hundred dock-workers and a large contingent of the Borough Police caused distinct alarm, not least because the riot did not mesh with the official conception of inter-ethnic rivalry.⁽³⁸⁾

(35) Durban Municipal Library, Durban Mayor's Minute (hereafter Mayor's Minute) 1910, p.19.

(36) Mayor's Minute, 1926, p.318.

(37) See P.R.B. No.6, 7 June 1901; and 4 March 1903.

(38) See Natal Advertiser, 19 September 1902. For official conceptions of the "traditional" rivalry between Zulus and Pondos see D.C.L. No.547, C.C. to T.C., 10 February 1905.

The African informal sector presented a similar kind of threat to local authority. By 1902, between 300 and 400 Africans were taking out free five-day passes daily. The five-day pass allowed for the legal entry of Africans into the town for the purpose of visiting friends and relatives, or in order to seek employment. The majority of those who entered the town on five-day passes were Africans bringing produce from the countryside for the purpose of sale in Durban. These traders hawked fowls, eggs, sticks, assegais, dagga, herbs and skins, in fact, according to the Superintendent of Police, 'anything to lead an idle life or to sponge upon their friends'.⁽³⁹⁾ The capacity of Africans to subsist through petty trade, independent of the discipline of the capitalist wage relationship, attracted the ire of local capital. These trading activities also stood in sharp contrast to those processes of "re-education" which were an integral part of the forging of an order based upon the imperatives of capital. More than any other section of the petty traders, it was the African beer brewer and seller who was to attract the most concentrated attention of the local state. The reasons for this will be discussed more fully below.

By 1904, Durban's African population numbered over 19 000. While the majority were engaged in labour in the formal sector, a by no means unimportant number of Africans were involved in earning a living outside of this area, despite their being viewed by Durban's police as 'idle and suspicious persons without any visible means of subsistence'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this social grouping Durban's population of African prostitutes found their home. Although the local state made concerted attempts to expel "unproductive" Africans from the Borough by means of the Vagrancy Law, the success of these measures, before 1910, was extremely uneven. By 1903, the reports of Durban's African registration office commented on the 'very large number' of African women entering the town on five-day passes.⁽⁴¹⁾

(39) P.R.B. No.6, 7 June 1901.

(40) P.R.B. No.6, 5 September 1901.

(41) P.R.B. No.7, 5 December 1903.

Those women who remained in the town, and who did not engage in either domestic service or become washerwomen, were drawn into the world of commoditized sex. By 1907, Durban's Criminal Investigation Department could report on the 'great number of Native prostitutes' and their 'taking of a permanent abode' in the town. (42)

A year later, the tenor of official reports had not changed at all. Chief Constable Donovan reported that the town was 'infested by a large floating population of Native females who are not in domestic service and who are living in many instances with Europeans and Kaffirs'. (43) Apart from beer brewing, prostitution provided African women living in Durban, outside of formal wage relations, with their main source of income. This remained a fact of urban African life in Durban for at least the following two decades.

A dominant feature of Durban in the first decade of the century was the size of its "criminal population". In 1901, it was reported that one third of the African population had been arrested for various offences committed in the town. (44) A large number of these arrests were for vagrancy or 'breach of the peace' offences. The latter were sometimes referred to as 'leita' offences, suggesting the degree of identification between the activities of Durban's amalaita gangs and the more general incidents of social conflict generated by urban life. The following table gives some indication of the extent of various offences. (45)

(42) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 14 January 1907.

(43) D.C.L. No.58, C.C. to T.C., 14 December 1908. The migration of African women to Durban for 'immoral purposes' was noted as early 12 1884. See S.N.A. Vol.1/4/3, C 5A; and Natal Mercury, 29 October 1884. 1884

(44) P.R.B. No.6, 4 October 1901.

(45) Police Report Books and Census returns in Durban Corporation Letterbooks for the years 1902-1911. 'Leita gang offences' and 'breach of the peace' were used by the Borough Police to describe the same phenomenon. See, for example, Mayor's Minute, 1908, p.34.

Table 1 Africans charged with various offences, 1902-1911

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
African Population	-	-	18 929	19 000	17 000	17 000	16 329	15 900	16 459	17 756
Vagrancy	1 493	1 551	1 605	1 502	1 313	1 452	1 679	1 063	440	415
Breach of the peace	1 244	969	898	833	883	741	915	503	307	408
Crimes against property	237	256	257	268	208	238	164	131	183	82

As early as 1898 the presence of bands of 'daring young thieves' was noted in Durban. The increasing incidence of crimes against property and 'pitched battles' amongst different sections of Durban's African workforce, encouraged the differentiation of Africans into 'honest' and 'dishonest' categories.⁽⁴⁶⁾ R.C. Jameson, prominent merchant and Town Councillor, claimed in 1904 that the colonial town's police:

prevent them (Africans) from having easy access to drink ... save them from a very great deal of immorality, and ... remove from them that very undesirable element ... the scoundrel who comes in under the togt badge to plunder.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The fear that Africans in Durban would 'get out of hand' and spread riot throughout the town, was never far below the ideological discourse of the ruling classes. The 'dangerous' sections of the population such as the amalaita gangs, sometimes referred to as the amaruzu or isigebengu, reflected these white anxieties most lucidly.⁽⁴⁸⁾

(46) See P.R.B. No.6, 7 November 1898; and 4 April 1901.

(47) D.C.L. No.548, Proceedings of the First Natal Municipal Conference, Pietermaritzburg, 22 September 1904. (Emphasis added).

(48) For white fears of African riots see Natal Mercury, 3 August 1904; and P.R.B. No.7, 5 December 1903. For a discussion of the isigebengu see S.N.A. Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907. Report of Magistrate for Umlazi Division, 1907.

The origins of organised groups of African criminals or bandits have been traced back to the 'secret society' of robbers on the Rand in the 1890's. Many of the members of the secret society of criminals known as the Ninevites, or the isigebengu, returned to their place of origin in Natal when the South African War broke out in 1899. It was in the towns of Natal, particularly Durban, that these ex-Johannesburg elements found jobs as 'houseboys' and, together with other sections of the town's African population, formed amalaita gangs. (49) While it is possible to over-emphasise the social banditry aspect of these gangs, certainly in Durban they were responsible for many thefts in white households. (50) By 1902 the amalaita gangs in Durban, characterised by their colourful clothing, their fondness for the concertina and their inseparability from two fighting sticks, particularly the isikwili and the umshiza, were being described in the local press as:

not merely groups of turbulent umfaans (but) organised bands, having for their object the terrorising of the police and the defiance of authority ... they parade in military formation, yelling and cursing till midnight. (51)

The amalaita movement in Durban was a vivid expression of how a rural people adapted to punishing conditions of proletarianisation and probably, in many instances, landlessness. While Durban as an urban commercial centre provided the amalaitas with their main terrain of operation, the movement was deeply rooted in, and dialectically related to, a continually changing rural culture.

White property owners in Durban read into amalaita activity, and what appeared to be a rapidly growing criminal population, the

(49) For a useful discussion of the emergence of amalaita gangs, see Van Onselen, New Nineveh, pp.54-60; also see pp.171-201 for an illuminating case study.

(50) See Table 1 above, for statistics on crimes against property. The Superintendent of Police Report Books Nos.6 and 7 suggest the extent to which amalaitas were involved in crimes against property. For general discussion of social banditry see E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (Manchester, 1978); and Bandits (London, 1972).

(51) Natal Mercury, quoted in P.R.B. No.6, 6 July 1902.

capacity of Africans to elude all mechanisms of social control. Clearly, capital's attempt to establish a system of class rule in Durban did not go unchallenged by the subordinate classes. The uneven struggle over differing conceptions of the world was a process with no pre-ordained outcome. The character of this struggle in Durban in the first decade of the century is captured in the disquieting observation of one white official, that:

the general feeling with Natives (is) that imprisonment under the present system is no punishment ... The Native Convict is only known to his own people who look upon him more in the light of a Hero than Criminal. (52)

The nature of the struggle for a uniform conception of reality and the most "appropriate" form of social relations in the town, found its clearest expression in the debate over the housing of Durban's African population.

Segregationist Ideologies and the Debate over African Housing

A dominant strand in the ideological discourse of Durban's white rulers who were faced with a large African working population, was that of social pathology. Colonial administrators invoked "traditional" social relations in the countryside as being representative of a stable, hierarchically-ordered universe. These were juxtaposed with the potentially disastrous social implications stemming from wage labour in towns. One Acting Magistrate asserted that:

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that these centres, and more so Durban, are plague spots, the very schools wherein the Native's mind, character and morals are corrupted and destroyed ... it is from and through men of this class (low class European) (that) he picks up his code of "new" morals leading to disease and destruction. (53)

(52) P.R.B. No.7, 1 August 1904. For a useful discussion of hegemony as a process and arena of struggle see Belinda Bozzoli, The Political Nature of a Ruling Class. Capital and Ideology in South Africa, 1890-1933 (London, 1981), pp.1-24.

(53) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907, Acting Magistrate, Alexandra Division to S.N.A., 26 January 1907.

It has been suggested that infectious diseases and concepts of public health, operating as societal metaphors, have exercised a powerful influence on the origins and development of urban segregation in South Africa. It is further claimed that epidemiology and sanitation provided the rationale for the establishment of early urban African locations such as Ndabeni and Klipspruit. This "sanitation syndrome" is also held to have exercised considerably sway over social policies in the colonial town of Durban.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The notion of a "sanitation syndrome" is useful but needs some further qualification. Firstly, it should not be regarded as somehow "extraneous" to the ideology of Natal's ruling classes and secondly, this ideology should not be held to be independent of a totality of social practices and material relationships with which it was integrally bound.

The danger of seeing the "sanitation syndrome" as a kind of weapon to be drawn from the arsenal of colonial administration in Durban at suitable moments, is suggested by the response of administrators to the outbreak of bubonic plague in 1902. The source of the outbreak was the densely-populated Indian and African compounds and privately-rented dwellings at the Point.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The municipality took the opportunity to destroy numerous African and Indian shacks in the Point area and incinerated many premises throughout the town. These moves were spearheaded by a Plague Administration Committee and a special Plague Police Force. In 1905, the Committee, onto which several important merchants such as Sir Benjamin Greenacre had been co-opted, informed Africans in Durban that the danger they ran of contracting the disease was 'slight', and that 'suitable sleeping accommodation' would be found for all Africans. In short, the realisation by prominent white

(54) See M.W. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', Journal of African History, Vol.18, No.3, 1977. For Swanson's discussion of the "sanitation syndrome" in relation to Durban see "The Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', African Studies, Vol.35, 1976, pp.171-172

(55) The number of plague fatalities for the years 1902-05 were as follows: 1902-03: 124 (38 Africans and 75 Indians); 1903-04: 7; 1904-05: 22. D.C.L. (various correspondence) and Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.64.

burgesses and officials that the plague could 'paralyse work at the Point and work in town', generated a series of re-assurances that Africans had little to fear from plague.⁽⁵⁶⁾ A dominant segregationist ideology which affirmed the temporary status of African wage labourers in the town and frequently expressed itself in terms of social pathology, served to defend and entrench existing property relations in the town. But it certainly did not countenance the disappearance of productive units of labour from Durban altogether.

It has been suggested that the perception of the ruling classes of the conditions under which the working classes live, gives rise to a "myth of social pathology" turning the harshness of economic inequality back upon its victims as moral condemnation. Squalid housing, crime and popular drunkenness, for example, come to be seen as a "mutually reinforcing constellation of circumstances independent of the economic relationships which cause them".⁽⁵⁷⁾ In Durban, in particular, and in Natal in general, these myths, in the context of the segregationist ideology of white officials, assumed a strikingly material character. In Durban a racist settler discourse - compounded by the profound impact of Social Darwinism after the 1870's - focused on the 'demoralisation' of African wage labour and the 'attraction for self-gratification, lust and luxurious living' which the town offered.⁽⁵⁸⁾ These fears found acute expression during the "social peril" of 1899-1902, when large numbers of 'undesirable white women', 'vagabond whites' and 'refugees from other colonies' found refuge in

(56) See Natal Archives, Durban Corporation Odd Letterbook, No.809, Mayor Ellis Brown to Prime Minister, 20 January 1903; and Minutes of the Plague Administration Committee, 24 January 1903.

(57) P. Marris, 'The Meaning of Slums and Patterns of Change', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.3, No.3, 1979, p.424.

(58) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907, Magistrate, Umlazi Division to S.N.A., January 1907.

Durban.⁽⁵⁹⁾ By 1903 Durban was being described as a 'modern Babylon with 200 houses of ill-fame'.⁽⁶⁰⁾ When the Superintendent of Police spoke about the 'contaminating influence' of 'the cosmopolitan crowd', he was capturing the fears of Durban's white rulers faced with the subversive implications of a large, racially undifferentiated population of labouring and unemployed men and women. The influx of lumpen-refugees not only posed grave problems of control but also threatened existing property and master-servant relations which had come to be defined along racial lines.

Most alarming were police reports of white men living with black women. The Chief Constable hinted at the subversive potential of these relationships when he claimed that they '(bring) disgrace upon our own people and (make) our task in dealing with the Natives most difficult'.⁽⁶¹⁾ It was suggested that such individuals should be struck off the burgess roll. In the workplace it was also claimed that labour disputes between white workers and employers set a bad example for Africans. This point was endorsed by the articulate voice which a section of Durban's educated kholwa (Christian) African population found in John Dube.⁽⁶²⁾

The continuing struggle to enforce racially defined master-servant relationships, and proscribe conditions amenable to the forging of any forms of combination across racial barriers, was formally taken up by the Natal Native Reform League. The League, which was formed in October 1904, attempted to provide a bulwark against the perceived threat to property relations posed by African

(59) Between September 1899 and September 1903 the following arrests were recorded: 212 women for soliciting, 362 for disorderly houses, 31 for knowingly letting houses, 23 for living on their earnings. P.R.B. No.7, 4 November 1903. For R.C. Alexander's evidence see S.A.N.A.C, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, pp.647-49. See also P.R.B. No.6, 14 September 1902; and G.H. Vol.1546, Mayor to Minister of Justice, 11 December 1903.

(60) P.R.B. No.7, 4 November 1903. For the "Witwatersrand connection" see Van Onselen, New Babylon, pp.136-37.

(61) See P.R.B. No.6, 3 December 1912; and P.R.B. No.7, 3 July 1905.

(62) See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.67.

'lawlessness' and 'familiarity'. To this end the League demanded that Africans use sidewalks for no purpose 'otherwise than for crossing them'. The League also called for a general tightening up of laws relating to African work registration and passes, the prohibition of Africans carrying sticks and residential segregation on racial lines.⁽⁶³⁾ The essentially repressive response of the League to the presence of Africans in the town found wider expression through the ideologues of Durban's colonial bureaucracy. James Stuart, the First Assistant Magistrate of Durban, was a supporter of the Natal Native Reform League. Stuart had, over a period of years, painstakingly compiled a vast amount of material on "Zulu custom" and oral tradition.⁽⁶⁴⁾ It is not surprising then, that his views on "traditional Zulu culture" served to underpin a particularly well-honed strand in segregationist ideology. His statements on the urban "native question" were both wide-ranging in their implications and articulate in their support of liberal segregationist ideology. In 1906 he reported that Africans:

should for many years to come, be regarded as mere visitors to the town; they do not contribute to municipal rates, and therefore have no right to share the same privileges that regular citizens do ... Permanent residence in town should, as far as the great majority are concerned, be distinctly discouraged. (65)

However, the large gap between the abstract necessities and concrete possibilities of Durban's ruling classes in relation to the presence of Africans in the town, remained. Provision for the control, coercion and, to some extent, the reproduction of African labour under urban conditions, had to be made. Furthermore, white property owners were by no means unanimous in their

(63) See D.C.L. No.547, C.R. King, Hon.Sec. of Natal Native Reform League to Durban Town Council, 6 February 1905. See also Natal Advertiser, 20 October 1904.

(64) See C.de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, Vol.1 (Pietermaritzburg, 1976) Vol.2 (Pietermaritzburg, 1979); Vol.3 (Pietermaritzburg, 1982).

(65) Natal Native Blue Book, 1904, p.77

views on the nature and extent of such provision. This disunity in the ideological discourse of Durban's white bourgeoisie was to emerge forcefully in the location debate of 1904.

The fundamental issues of the debate concerned the nature of control to be exercised over Africans and the conditions under which labour was to be reproduced: whether a permanent labour-force housed in a location, allowing for settled family accommodation on the outskirts of town, would be favoured; or whether the continued migrancy of the African workforce, housed in licensed and municipal barrack-type accommodation, would be encouraged. The debate was essentially about means and not ends - to ensure the cheapness of African labour and to exercise effective social control. However, the way in which the debate was resolved was to have important implications for the form of class and race subordination and domination in Durban.

R.C. Alexander, showing a remarkable consistency of position, had propagated the idea of a location on the outskirts of the Borough for at least two decades. In 1904, he asserted that if a location were to be established 'there would be no crime worth speaking of ... men would be enjoying themselves in their own town, and we should know nothing about it'. Moreover, the location was to be a place where Africans could 'lie under trees, or swim in the river ... away from all temptations'; African labourers would be 'guarded' on three sides by the Umgeni River, the Indian Ocean and the Borough Police. From here they could 'march into town as they do with soldiers'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Sharing Alexander's liberal segregationist position were two other prominent Natalians: R. Jameson a manufacturer and town councillor and F.R. Moor, Secretary for Native Affairs. Opposing the segregationists were the "repression-ists", a fairly disparate group of white property owners, representatives of merchant and commercial capital in Durban.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The vision of a settled African population in Durban was opposed

(66) S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.652.

(67) This is a term used to define a specific position within segregationist thought. See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.100-110.

by the repressionists who, instead, advocated barrack accommodation. Barracks were viewed as being capable of providing cheap African housing, amenable to police control and close to the point of production - a prerequisite for stevedoring companies.

An important underlying determinant of the segregationist position was the belief that Africans could be controlled with greater facility if they were housed in a peri-urban location. Jameson, who had been particularly impressed by the example of New Brighton Location in Port Elizabeth,⁽⁶⁸⁾ foresaw the danger of urban riots if Africans were housed in dwellings scattered around the Borough. The Chairman of the Sanitary Committee of the Town Council qualified the prevailing white view of the town as a centre of African 'demoralisation' by using alcohol as a symbol of the socially dangerous and potentially insurrectionary consequences of uncontrolled African urban dwelling. In 1906 he claimed that:

If there was a riot and there were one or two liquor stores in the immediate vicinity, they would be raided, and that would form a focus for any form of mischief; whereas out there any incipient rebellion ... would not have fuel added to it in the shape of liquor handy, and therefore could soon come under control. The difference between a riot out there and a riot in town would be very great indeed. (69)

But there was a great deal of white opposition to the establishment of an urban location. This prevented the implementation of the provisions of the Native Locations Act (No.2) of 1904, an Act which enabled local authorities in Natal to establish locations and compel Africans to live in them.

The "defeat" of the programme for a location was hardly surprising. It had long been maintained by local officials that 'the labouring

(68) Jameson visited the New Brighton location in 1904. The population of the location at this time was over 3 000. See D.C.L. No.550, Inspector of Nuisances to R. Jameson, 8 May 1905.

(69) S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.752.

classes should be housed as near to their work as possible'. Moreover, the cost of a location would have been prohibitive. Apart from the actual purchase of land and erection of family housing, in terms of the Locations Act the owners of all 'Kafir premises' would have been eligible for compensation in the event of their closure and the erection of a location. (70)

In one study of labour and the genesis of worker accommodation in the Kimberley diamond fields, it has been illustrated how the introduction of the closed compound system - a response to the restructuring of the labour process - was resisted by sections of commercial capital. (71) In Durban, an essentially non-industrial urban environment where the imperatives of urban employers were different to those in the highly structured mining industry, it is difficult to find direct parallels with the centres of South Africa's industrial revolution. However, and this is a point which has been made elsewhere, the barrack in Durban symbolized the continued migrancy of Durban's African workforce, a policy which ensured the cheapening of labour power and denoted the temporary status of Africans in the urban environment. (72)

As had been claimed in 1903, and was continuously asserted for at least the following two decades, if not in exactly the same words: Africans 'have no right in the Boro' when they refuse to work for a fair wage'. (73) The corollary of the collapse of the proposed location scheme, even if it had been articulated more at the level

(70) D.C.L. No.563, Inspector of Nuisances to T.C., 12 November 1906. Also S.N.A. Vol.362, 427/1907, M. Pearson to Mr Anderson, 4 December 1906. For an examination of the "location debate" see Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.100-109; and Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban', Chapter 9; also Swanson, 'The Durban System', pp.169-173

(71) See Rob Turrell, 'Kimberley: Labour and Compounds, 1871-1886', pp.45-76.

(72) John Rex, 'The Compound, the Reserve and the Urban Location: The Essential Institutions of Southern African Labour Exploitation', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, No.4, 1974, pp.4-17. For further discussion of barracks and social control in Durban see Chapter 2, pp.82-7 below.

(73) P.R.B. No.6, 4 March 1903.

of abstract necessity rather than concrete possibility, was a greater reliance on the Borough Police as a primary means of labour coercion and control. This was to become strikingly evident in relation to the day-to-day existence of emerging African popular classes in the town. The consumption of various forms of alcohol was integral to the lived experience of Africans in Durban. It was in the struggle between rulers and ruled over this drinking culture, that the framework for a more sophisticated form of urban control and native administration in Durban was forged. This system supported the continued migrancy of the workforce and precluded, for at least two decades, the necessity for providing Africans with family accommodation in an urban location.

African Women and Beer in Durban: The Continuity between Town and Countryside.

In many senses, alcohol in the form of utshwala, symbolized the continuity between town and countryside. Prior to the introduction of a municipal beer monopoly in 1909, Africans working in Durban obtained alcohol from two main sources. Firstly, from the brewers in Durban itself, who either sold their product from rented rooms scattered throughout the town, or from the main Market, where it was freely supplied. Secondly, from rural women who entered the town on a five-day pass and who brought large quantities of utshwala. The Magistrate of Umlazi Division reported that young African women were constantly conveying large quantities of beer, by rail, to Durban. His report is highly illuminating:

It was a Friday practically the first day of what may be termed the weekend. Some sixty to seventy large gourds, calabashes and paraffin tins, full of Kafir beer, surrounded by ... chattering Native girls, occupied a great deal of the station platform. (Isipingo). Their number was considerably augmented as time slipped by. When the train departed for Durban, it carried away 168 vessels containing beer. These native females ... mostly girls ... ranged from 12 to 30 ... this beer was destined for brothers, sweet-hearts and ... fathers, at work in Durban,

who defrayed the expenses, i.e. 6d per beer-vessel, and 1/- each way for train fares ... They all stated they were spending the week-end in Durban with their relatives and friends, sleeping in Native quarters, ricksha sheds etc, and that they were returning home on the following Tuesday. (74)

At the many railway stations in rural areas surrounding Durban, this scene was duplicated over weekends. An estimated 25 680 pots and vessels of beer, anything up to 9 000 gallons in volume, seeped their way into Durban during the period June 1905 to June 1906. According to the First Assistant Magistrate, the sale of this beer 'brought in no insignificant amount of revenue' - close on £500. (75) That this weekly migration was conspicuous is emphasised by the fact that beer halls in Durban became known as ematsheni - "the place of the stones" - derived from the practice of women selling beer near large boulders situated close to Durban's station, prior to the introduction of the beer monopoly. Over seventy years later this fact still had currency among ex-officials of Bantu Administration in Durban. (76)

Van Onselen has noted, along with other historians, how through distillation, agricultural surplus has been converted into spirits. This practice provides "one of the clearest visible links between a declining agriculturally based feudal regime, and a modern industrial capitalist order". (77)

(74) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/351, 294/1906, Magistrate, Umlazi to Under S.N.A., 1 October 1906.

(75) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/418, 3762/1908, General Manager (Railways) to Secretary Railways and Harbours, 4 January 1909; and J. Stuart to Under S.N.A., 22 December 1908.

(76) Interview with S.B. Borquin, retired manager of Durban's Municipal Native Administration Department, Durban, 23 January 1982; also interview with W.E. Drew, retired administrator of Durban's beer halls, Sunwiche Port, 16 July 1982. (Tapes deposited with the Oral History Project, Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

(77) See van Onselen, New Babylon, p.45.; also see R.E.F. Smith, 'Drink in Old Russia' in E.J. Hobsbawm, et al. (eds.) Peasants in History (London, 1980), pp.42-54.

The large-scale importation of sorghum and maize beer from Natal's countryside into Durban, seems to suggest a certain resilience on the part of African rural producers to the incursions of white capitalist agriculture in Natal. The transportation of beer to Durban was at once a response to market forces and part of a process of affirming kinship ties. It pointed to the continuities between town and countryside as well as to the subtle reworking of an historically more ancient cultural practice in the urban context. It is clear that some of the African women who entered Durban to sell or supply beer remained in the town outside of wage relations and brewed or supplied beer to workers from stables, ricksha sheds, backyards, rooms rented by Indian landlords and even municipal barracks. As the Chief Magistrate commented:

old natives complain that they are losing control of their womenkind, who have become used to these jaunts to Town and who, in consequence, have begun to despise the humdrum kraal life. (78)

As has been noted above, a crucial element within the ideological discourse of white property owners in Durban was the determination to prevent permanent African settlement in the Borough. Despite this "proto-Stallardism" there could have been up to 200 African families living in Durban by 1904.⁽⁷⁹⁾ There are no reliable statistics to indicate the size of the African female population during this period. In 1911 the Government Census, in a preliminary conservative estimate, put the number of African females in Durban at 1 165.⁽⁸⁰⁾ An indication of the size of the floating female population in Durban is suggested by the fact that over one weekend in November 1906, 350 women and children applied for five-day passes. Those African women who did not take up domestic employment or register as washerwomen, moved into prostitution or the informal brewing trade. In 1907 it was estimated that a quarter of African women resident in Durban were involved in the beer

(78) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907, Magistrate, Durban to S.N.A., 1907.

(79) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.58.

(80) Census, 1911. Preliminary Returns, U.G. 32-11, p.8.

trade. (81) The Chief Constable noted that the :

borough is infested by a large floating population of Native females, who are not in domestic service, and who are living ... principally through the manufacture and sale of Native beer ... it is very desirable that the Borough should be rid of these persons. (82)

The sale and consumption of alcohol became inextricably bound up with the white myth of social pathology in urban areas. According to official reports, many African men and their wives moved to Durban with the 'sole purpose' of earning a living from the preparation and sale of utshwala. African women were mainly involved in the importation of beer, by rail or road from outside the Borough, some of which was given to relatives. Much larger quantities however, were sold in the town. According to Detective R.H. Arnold (otherwise known as 'Tshaka') in many cases 'a party' would 'collect a certain amount' of money and 'procure some girl to make it at a price and bring it into town'. Houses in the town were frequently hired by Africans and it was from such places that utshwala was stored and sold. Under cover of the municipal five-day pass, stock could be sold and arrangements for the purchase of further stocks and brewing materials, could be made. (83) In the Congella district of Durban (see Map 1), over 1 000 Africans lived in private accommodation. Of 54 different premises, half housed ricksha pullers, the remainder, those working in 'manufactories' and stables. In places such as these, 'disturbances, dancing and noises' reportedly commenced on Saturday, and continued 'far into Sunday nights'. It was also here that the presence of 'women of questionable character' (many of whom were involved in the beer trade) and widescale beer drinking, were particularly noticeable. (84) Alcohol provided the thread which held together the environment of insanitary shacks, sheds and backyards where scores of African women sold beer or more potent alcohol,

(81) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 14 January 1907

(82) D.C.L. No.580, C.C. to T.C., 14 December 1908.

(83) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 14 January 1907.

(84) D.C.L. No.563, Inspector of Nuisances to T.C., 12 November 1906.

such as methylated spirits (meths) and isitshimiyane, to African workers temporarily free from the discipline of the workplace. (85) For those African women who transported beer from rural areas, Durban provided a new market for rural produce. Shebeens which provided outlets for the sale and consumption of drink, flourished in response to the scale of the beer trade. It is during this period that the genesis of the shebeen as a vital urban African social institution can be located. The shebeen was to be of central importance in the long process of forging a popular cultural identity amongst subordinate classes in the town.

The consumption of alcohol by Africans in Durban, outside of working hours in the more shadowy reaches of the town, acted in many ways against a well-coerced and efficient supply of labour for the urban economy. Furthermore, African women were involved in the supply of alcohol which suggested that the terms under which Africans were to live in the town might be determined, not by white property owners, but rather by African popular classes themselves. If African women living in the town symbolised the potential permanence of the workforce in Durban, then beer brewing by these women provided the economic support for their position as urban dwellers. In 1906, large numbers of Africans in Durban returned to their homesteads to participate in the struggle being waged in the countryside over the imposition of poll tax. Over a quarter of Durban's African Police, most of whom came from Chiefdoms in the northern districts of Natal, silently disappeared from the town to take up arms in the countryside. A major employer

(85) Isitshimiyane, an adulterated form of utshwala, is a highly intoxicating drink made from yeast, sugar, syrup and potatoes. Other recorded names for this drink are isigedaviki, isigatha, umfanggokisaka, nkawu, izingodo, isikhilimkhwikhi, izin-kankatho and umnggamula jugu. See D.N. Bang, 'The History and Policy of Kaffir Beer in South Africa', unpublished paper presented to the Fifth Annual Conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Bloemfontein 1956. Quick-fermenting brews assisted brewers in avoiding police detection. Act No.27 of 1905 prohibited its sale and consumption.

of ricksha pullers reported his labour force reduced by half. (86) Despite the disruption caused by the Bambatha rebellion to labour supplies in the town, it was maintained that the 'greatest enemy' facing Durban's white population remained that of 'drink'. (87) This became evident both in the prominence of the beer trade and increasing popular drunkenness. In the context of a dominant ideology which affirmed the temporary status of Africans in the town, the issue of African female urbanisation and that of a burgeoning beer trade, became increasingly interconnected within the discourse of Durban's dominant classes. However, the subversiveness of female beer traders in particular, comprised only one aspect of the broader reality of popular beer production, consumption and drunkenness in Durban.

The Establishment of a Municipal Native Eating House and the Beginnings of the Monopoly System

The general attempts of the local state to reinforce influx control through greater coercion of Africans by the Borough Police, coincided with an offensive against African petty traders. Although it was frequently asserted by white officials that Africans possessed an intrinsic inability to conduct successful trade, by 1904 an estimated seventy unlicensed traders in Durban were earning £1 a day selling hop beer. (88) Undoubtedly, many more people were involved in the brewing and selling of utshwala. While sorghum beer could be transported by African women from Natal's countryside, the ingredients for brewing hop beer were freely available in Durban. This increasingly popular drink was brewed and sold either in Native Eating Houses or various 'Kafir markets', the most prominent of which was to be found in Queen Street. The hop beer petty trader represented a specific stratum of African alcohol traders in Durban. These traders were all

(86) See D.C.L. No.560, R.C. Alexander to Chairman of Police Committee, 5 July 1906; and D.C.L. No.556, Palethorpe and Plum to Mayor, 24 January 1906. The number of ricksha pullers fell from 1 351 to 602.

(87) P.R.B. No.7, 4 July 1906.

(88) S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, p.644.

males who had some degree of security in the town and their income was far beyond that of even the highest paid worker.

In 1905, streets of Durban were dense with privately-licensed eating houses which provided food for African workers, as well as another outlet for beer and popular social intercourse. Of approximately 139 eating houses over 100 catered specifically for Africans and were mostly run by 'non-Britishers', the 'lower class Jew and white man'.⁽⁸⁹⁾ In all the eating houses hop beer was freely available. By 1906, the Chief Constable reported an alarming increase in African drunkenness apparently due to the 'indiscriminate sale of hop beer'. While no license was required to manufacture and sell hop beer (or utshwala) provided it did not contain more than two percent proof spirit, quantities of sugar could be added to make it a highly intoxicating beverage. With over 300 casks of hop beer in use in the Borough, the control of alcohol levels in hop beer were exceedingly difficult to enforce.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The African men involved in the hop beer trade concentrated their activities around various markets in the town, where their beer supplies were sold to thousands of workers in their spare time. The local state was quick to perceive the potentially dangerous character of this informal beer trade. Beer selling provided the basis for an increasingly resilient alternative drinking culture. While this cultural practice was by no means oppositional in character, the effective dominant culture in Durban recognised the emergence of new meanings, values and experiences generated by beer production and consumption amongst Africans. The assertion that Africans should 'spend the time harmlessly between working hours' involved in some 'legitimate amusement', was based on an understanding of the alternative definition of reality circumscribed by this drinking culture.⁽⁹¹⁾ Durban's white

(89) See D.C.L. No.555, Inspector of Licenses to T.C., 4 December 1905. For a breakdown of Durban's white commercial traders see Appendix III

(90) P.R.B. No.7, 1 November 1906.

(91) P.R.B. No.7, 30 November 1906.

bourgeoisie had a definite stake in this alternative reality precisely because it informed the willingness of Africans to work and accept the controls of a labour coercive economy. The ensuing attempts of the local state in Durban to modify, marginalise and incorporate aspects of popular culture did not pass unchallenged by Africans. (92)

One of the first moves to formalise the control of African traders and unlicensed eating houses scattered throughout the Borough, was made in 1905. The municipality established a committee under Robert Jameson with a view to setting up municipal eating houses. This move came in the wake of the passing of the Stamps and Licences Act of 1905 which imposed a £5 license fee on all African eating houses. It was not long before the flourishing centre of the African hop beer trade in the Queen Street Market became the target of Jameson's committee. The Market accommodated over twenty-five eating stalls. Over forty beer barrels supplied Durban's labouring poor with food and drink in an atmosphere dense with the smell of cooking fires and dagga smoke. (93) Jameson proposed that the municipality take over the Market. He explained the underlying motivation for this proposal in the following terms:

We could realise £336 by a charge of 6d per day, and this reduction would alone ensure ... the getting rid of a most objectionable and dis-creditable as well as insanitary condition of affairs on a private property ... the whole place being completely under Municipal control would enable us to deal more effectively with the hop beer traffic. ... the advantages are so obvious as not to require discussion. (94)

African petty traders who had previously enjoyed the benefits of

(92) For a useful examination of the relationship between subordinate and dominant cultures see Raymond Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, pp.37-45.

(93) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.127-128.

(94) D.C.L. No.547, Report re Kafir Market, 13 February 1905. Previously, forty African tenants had paid an Indian property owner 1/- per month giving him an annual £672 in rent.

informal and unlicensed trade, were quick in responding to this threat to their livelihood. In a petition to the Town Council, signed by 940 Africans, an appeal that the Market be kept open was made. The grounds of this appeal was that it served the African population as an orderly enterprise separate from residential areas, and sold only the produce of Natal.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The municipality did not close the Market, but in May 1905, opened Durban's first municipal eating house and granted a contract to a white caterer for £600 a year.

There are two points which should be noted with regard to the municipality's attempt to close Durban's most important African market. Firstly, white officials' perceptions of the profits to be made from the beer trade were clear, as was the possibility of cornering the trade and utilising the revenue for administrative purposes. Secondly, the capacity which a fairly small group of African traders, representing an important section of Durban's aspirant African petty bourgeoisie, had in mobilising relatively wide popular support against the attempts of the local state to close the Market. The establishment of the municipal eating house marked the first important stage in the struggle of the Town Council to eliminate independent African traders whose economic activities were increasingly incompatible with the cheap reproduction of a migrant labour force. The inception of the municipal eating house failed to herald a sober dawn free from the African beer trader. While it was claimed that the new eating house, in conjunction with the Stamps and Licences Act, had curbed African drunkenness, liquor was still freely available in numerous forms and outlets both within the town and on its outskirts. Moreover, the consumption of beer in the municipal outlet was not rigorously controlled and at any time of day between one and three thousand Africans could be found in the eating house sitting 'with absolute security, drinking as much hop beer' as wages allowed and talking to 'as many girls' as they chose to 'court'.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Clearly, it would

(95) D.C.L. No.547, Petition by 940 Africans against the Abolition of the Market, 6 March 1905.

(96) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 14 January 1907.

take more than a single official liquor outlet to transform a resilient drinking culture, since the 'traditional drink', utshwala, was being consumed along with hop beer, ginger beer, isitshimiyane, Natal rum and brandy.

Up until 1906, local authority in Durban had been relatively permissive of Africans drinking what was invariably referred to by whites, as their 'national beverage' - sorghum or maize beer. However, the growth of the hop beer trade caused heightened concern as the beer was often far higher in alcohol content than utshwala. Stronger drink was usually produced through the addition of sugar, which assisted rapid fermentation, or by the inclusion of spirits in the original brew. It seems likely, however, that the concern of urban administrators over the increased African consumption of hop beer, was rooted in the implications which this cultural practice had for existing property relations in the town. A migrant labour force spending wages on, and being debilitated by strong drink, could rapidly take on the aspect of full proletarianisation and hence, change the conditions of social reproduction. In 1907, Natal's Prime Minister, F.R. Moor, asserted that Africans preferred 'their own drink' (utshwala) and called for the complete proscription of 'this other taste' - hop beer.⁽⁹⁷⁾ In a less direct way he was discussing the conditions under which African labour power was to be reproduced.

It is difficult to ascribe reasons for what appears to be a move on the part of Durban's workforce toward the consumption of highly alcoholic drink. Law No.22 of 1878, which prohibited the sale of 'Spirits and other Intoxicating Liquor to persons of the Native race', effectively prevented African consumption of "white man's liquor". Despite this legal prohibition, as early as 1902 the high incidence of liquor permit forgery was noted. Similarly, the attraction which stronger drink began to hold for labourers could be seen in the consumption of both "European liquor" and 'adulterated' utshwala and hop beer.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Attempts to keep Africans

(97) Debates of Natal Legislative Assembly, 20 August 1907.

(98) See P.R.B. No.6, 6 January 1902 for notes on forgery. For discussion of the ravages of strong drink see Debates of Natal Legislative Assembly, 31 July 1906.

from strong drink 'at all costs' came through crippling fines of up to £50, imposed for the sale of hop beer above the strength allowed by the law.⁽⁹⁹⁾ When "European liquor" was not available, meths was viewed as a substitute by Africans seeking strong drink. In 1905 it was reported that Africans 'had taken to drinking methylated spirits, sold by most chemists at sixpence per bottle'. This 'highly-sought after' alcohol contained more proof spirit than any other liquor sold for consumption.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Although the consumption of meths and Natal rum, for example, provide explicit examples of the increasing consumption of highly intoxicating beverages, at a general level the urban environment was viewed by native affairs officials as particularly conducive to altering patterns of alcohol consumption. Even utshwala, often referred to by colonial officials as the wholesome 'natural beverage' of Africans, began to assume the characteristics of other illegal intoxicating drinks.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As the Chief Constable noted: 'native beer which is sold in town is much stronger than that specially provided at the kraals'.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The official vision of an urban workforce addicted to self-destruction through the consumption of potent brews, which in turn, was contrasted with the healthy communal consumption of nutritional beer in an older common culture, obscured a more complex reality. As early as the 1870's, for example, the growing consumption of strong drink had been noted in rural Natal.⁽¹⁰³⁾ While the preference of emergent urban popular classes for stronger drink was undoubtedly stimulated by the frequently punishing conditions of urban wage labour and town life, the consumption of strong drink in Durban was by no means as novel as white officials insinuated.

(99) P.R.B. No.7, 30 November 1906. For statistics relating to African contraventions of the liquor laws during this period, see Appendix XVIII.

(100) P.R.B. No.7, 3 July 1905; and S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 1907. In January 1906 legislation was passed prohibiting the consumption of meths. See S.N.A., Vol.340, 1342/1906, C.C. to C.M., 23 April 1906.

(101) See D.C.L. No.579, Extract from Report by J.Swart, December 1908.

(102) See D.C.L. No.574, C.C. to T.C., 15 April 1908.

(103) See Introduction, pp.15-16 above.

The social implications of this tendency, however, were real enough.

The historical experience of Europe suggests that the making of the working classes in the early stages of industrial capitalism, in so far as they were "made from above", was facilitated by alcohol. The supply of alcohol to a newly-proletarianised workforce ensured an increased dependence on wage labour. It could also be productive of a more stable workforce and provide cheap recreation for the working classes.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ On the Witwatersrand gold mines, the relationship between alcohol and proletarianisation was a fact which did not pass unnoticed either by mining capital or an Afrikaner rural bourgeoisie who, in a "marriage of convenience", turned this to their own benefit.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Proletarianisation, however, has its own history, a history determined by particular structural patterns and forms of struggle in different regions. The fact that Africans on the Witwatersrand had legal access to spiritous liquor until 1900, should be understood in terms of the configuration of various forms of capital and regional class struggle. In Durban, the attempts to control Africans' access to utshwala and the great apprehension with which municipal officials and employers greeted the presence of strong alcohol in the town, suggests different conditions of proletarianisation called for by capital in a non-industrial urban centre. In Durban, the notion of the non-permanence of Africans in the town and the need for enforced migrancy, shifted white perceptions of the potential ravages of strong alcohol. The consumption of potent alcohol by Africans contradicted the cheap reproduction of labour in so far as this practice was not regenerative in capital's

(104) Hans Medick provides a valuable word of caution in relation to the linkage between the deprivations and imperatives of proletarian conditions of existence, as determined by industrial capitalism, and the onset of the mass consumption of alcohol. See Hans Medick, 'Plebeian Culture in the Transition to Capitalism', in Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.), Culture, Politics and Ideology (London, 1982), p.103.

(105) See van Onselen, New Babylon, pp.44-102, for an illuminating examination of this story.

terms. Furthermore, it could be a means of creating an uncontrolled and potentially dangerous marginalised lumpenproletariat. On the other hand, the notion of Durban being 'a European not a native or an Indian town', where Africans could live only 'by reason of their usefulness as labourers',⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ did not coincide with the reality of an aspirant urban African petty bourgeoisie accumulating wealth through the sale of alcohol. The very real threat of strong drink containing more than two percent alcohol by volume, called into question the very definition of utshwala itself. The resolution of the problem of strong liquor consumption rested on some kind of re-definition of this practice by the dominant culture in Durban. The imperative for this re-definition was suggested in Natal's Legislative Assembly when one member claimed: 'there is no definition of Kafir beer ... they may put in a little whisky and call it Kafir beer'.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Legislation was to provide the main mechanism for the marginalisation and re-definition of this 'traditional' cultural practice.

Prohibition, the Brewing Boom and the Emergence of the Municipal Beer Monopoly.

The post-Bambatha rebellion period in Durban was marked by a large African floating population and extensive unemployment. One report estimated the 1 500 monthly contract workers, as well as 1 500 togt workers and large numbers of ricksha pullers, were out of work. The total African population numbered over 18 000.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Of the over 100 eating houses, 45 sold hop beer besides the single municipal eating house where beer was supplied from 52 large barrels to between 2 000 and 3 000 Africans per day. The total number of casks in use was estimated at 300.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Besides this, there were informal dealers, including African women and 'low-class whites', in over 100 shebeens. Here, they sold beer and also more potent

(106) Natal Advertiser, 8 December 1904 quoted in Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.127.

(107) Debates of Natal Legislative Assembly, 2 August 1905.

(108) Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban', p.421.

(109) P.R.B. No.7, 1 November 1906.

drink. The shebeens provided meeting places for numerous gangs of African youths, few of whom were over the age of twenty and who subsisted largely through petty theft and gambling. At least six amalaita gangs comprising over 150 Africans, many of whom were domestic servants, made shebeens their arena for inter-gang fighting. In addition to these organised bands of militant youths, nine gangs of organised housebreakers, each under the control of a single head, were involved in the brewing trade. Their position within the productive and distributive patterns of the shebeens is not clear, but it would appear that they assisted in the distribution of brews throughout the town.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Although John Dube occasionally held concerts in the municipal eating house, the world of Durban's small African petty bourgeoisie remained at a discrete distance from the milieu of the shebeen.⁽¹¹¹⁾

From the inception of the municipal eating house, the municipality was in fact contravening various laws which included utshwala as an intoxicating liquor and hence prohibited to Africans.⁽¹¹²⁾ The Durban Town Council had always permitted the consumption of utshwala or any other fermented drink by Africans, only on condition that it did not contain more than two percent proof spirit. This pragmatic ruling had been made on the basis of the Beer Act of 1901 which imposed an excise tax on all liquor containing more than two percent of alcohol.

In the face of increasing hop beer traffic and a continuing stream of arrests for drunkenness, the Town Council decided to enforce more stringently the law relating to alcohol levels in popular beverages. The first target of police raids was the municipal eating house itself. In March 1907, two hop beer traders, the first of many, were arrested and charged with contravening the liquor law. Magoyela and Kuzwayo, the two traders, were found

(110) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907, R.H. Arnold to C.M., 14 January 1907.

(111) For a description of a concert held by Dube see D.C.L. No.565, W. Cooper (Overseer) to Mayor, 3 April 1907.

(112) Act No.38 of 1896, as amended by Section 2 of Act No.36 of 1899, included utshwala as an intoxicating, and hence prohibited, form of liquor.

in possession of hop beer slightly over the two percent maximum. They were found guilty and fined £10 or three months imprisonment. Percy Binns, Durban's Chief Magistrate, although finding the men guilty, commented with 'amazement', that 'the body charged with prosecuting under the Act receives proceeds of the breach of that law'. He further made known the existence of the Liquor (Amendment) Act (No.36) of 1899 which deemed utshwala a prohibited intoxicating drink.⁽¹¹³⁾ In short, Africans were to be prohibited access to both hop beer and utshwala.

Instead of introducing prohibition, as was the case in other urban centres in Natal, the municipality defied the Chief Magistrate and introduced a private Bill into the Legislative Assembly.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The Durban Hop Beer Bill (No.17) of 1907 sought to legalise the production and consumption of hop beer only in municipal eating houses. Some members of the Town Council had favoured licensing private beer sellers, but the monopoly scheme was finally favoured. The net profits, it was proposed, would go the Togt Fund and be 'expended for the benefit of Natives in Durban'.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The Bill was supported by large employers of labour as well as missionaries, temperance advocates and the Durban Church Council. The primary motivation for the Bill was its anticipated ability to force Durban's shebeens to close, prevent the importation by African women of utshwala and to facilitate the deliverance of a well-coerced and sober African workforce into the hands of employers. It was proposed that hop beer, an acknowledged popular drink, would only be supplied at certain times, and be of a limited strength.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ However, the colonial government was not prepared to make Durban an exception to the rule of law in the Colony and the Bill was withdrawn on 21 August 1907. The uneven road towards the institution of a municipal beer monopoly was as much the result of divisions within white society, as of the roots which shebeens and aspirant

(113) See Natal Mercury, 25 March 1907; and 26 March 1907.

(114) See S.N.A. Vol.1/1/375, 2447/1907, C.M. to Under S.N.A., 28 September, 1907.

(115) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/375, 2447/1907, Draft Bill (No.17) of 1907. The Bill introduced the principle of a municipal beer monopoly. For the origins of the Togt Fund see p.26 above.

(116) See Debates of Natal Legislative Assembly, 20 August 1907.

petty bourgeois traders had extended throughout the town.

The Prime Minister, while admitting the need to review Natal's liquor laws, suggested that any revision await the Report of the Native Affairs Commission of 1906-07.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ In October 1907 Durban was impelled to institute prohibition in relation to its African population. This strategy was foisted on the municipality by, what the editor of the Natal Mercury referred to as, 'the stupid obstinacy of the Government and their supporters'.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ No doubt the editor was referring to the emerging hegemony, in the colonial state, of white commercial farmers. A qualitatively different anger flowed from the ranks of African beer traders, sixty nine of whom protested at this action through their solicitors.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

As if to exacerbate these conflicts, in January 1908 the Native High Court, in an appeal ruling, held that utshwala was not an intoxicating liquor in terms of the law.⁽¹²⁰⁾ The municipality found itself enmeshed in a set of contradictions partly of its own making. It had lost the powers of arrest and prosecution of beer sellers through the Natal Government's recent actions, and it was illegal in terms of a Council resolution of 1896, made in terms of the 1896 Liquor Act, for private parties to licence the beer trade.⁽¹²¹⁾ The brief days of prohibition dissolved into an unprecedented boom in the beer trade amongst the popular classes of Durban. The Judge President of the Native High Court conceded that it was now desirable for the manufacture and sale of beer to be made a municipal monopoly. Meanwhile the confusing liquor laws of the Colony provided the space for Durban's popular drinking culture to indicate its brittle resilience.

(117) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/375, 2447/1907, Secretary to the Prime Minister to Mayor, 25 September 1907.

(118) Natal Mercury, 15 October 1907.

(119) Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban', p.425.

(120) Native High Court Reports, 1907. Ambulozi vs. Durban Corporation. See also Natal Witness, 16 January 1908.

(121) See Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban', p.426.

Ironically utshwala came to be perceived in the same light as hop beer, which was now referred to as a 'harmless concoction compared to the vile native beer sold by the gallon to natives in native public houses of the most disreputable type'.⁽¹²²⁾ The shebeen as a centre of popular recreation in Durban enjoyed an exuberant renaissance. A noticeably larger number of African women from areas in the surrounding countryside, such as Inanda and Lower Tugela, moved into Durban, sometimes with their children and frequently to live, if possible, with husbands and relatives. As early as 1906 the Chief Magistrate had noted with apprehension, the emergence of 'a class of people' in the town who depended 'almost entirely upon beer traffic for a living'.⁽¹²³⁾ In 1908 this observation was confirmed by the Chief Constable who noted that shebeens were by no means 'hovels':

as in the majority of instances the houses occupied by Natives for this purpose were the best in the locality, and the rents paid well above what would be paid by an ordinary tenant who required the premises for residential purposes - another indication of the extent and lucrativeness of the business. ⁽¹²⁴⁾

This illuminating observation tended to be lost in the local press which invariably described shebeens as 'dens' which were 'hotbeds of immorality', providing the 'rendezvous of native women of loose character'.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Since sanitary bye-laws were one of the few weapons which could be used by the local state to close down shebeens, every effort was made to draw shebeens into a discourse of social pathology.⁽¹²⁶⁾

(122) Natal Mercury, 19 May 1908.

(123) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/335, 407/1906, C.M. to S.N.A., 6 February 1906.

(124) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/418, 3762/1908, Report of the Chief Constable re Gumede's petition, 11 January 1908. (This report was obviously filed in 1909, not 1908).

(125) Natal Mercury, 19 May 1908.

(126) See D.C.L. No.577, Mayor to C.C., 10 August 1908.

The precise relationship between beer brewers and sellers was generally ill-defined in contemporary police and other reports. However, reports in 1908 suggest that African women were the principal brewers, doing the manual labour for a 'male retainer' and preparing brews 'much stronger than that specially provided at the kraals'. The brewing was conducted while men were at work at their 'ordinary callings' during the day and, if questioned about the presence of a woman in their rooms, the usual reply of the worker was that the woman was his spouse.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Those Africans working and living in the central areas of the town obtained their drink from the 'honeycomb of beer sellers' in the town where, so the Borough Council claimed, prostitution, drunken revels and fights were the order of the day.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Africans would travel from the Congella and Umbilo Districts (See Map 1), which fell within the Borough boundary, to South Coast Junction (See Map 2), to obtain drink from brewers in the locality. If too drunk to return to work in the town, they would remain in the area until sufficiently sober to continue their labours.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Detectives who entered the threatening world of the shebeen sometimes reported whole families engaged in the beer trade. In Shepstone Street at the Point, one five-roomed house served as a flourishing shebeen run by thirteen women and twenty men. In the rooms stood fifty-seven casks, drums and paraffin tins in which various brews were stored. Such rooms would have most probably been rented from Indian landlords, whose monthly rents ranged from 15/- to 20/-. The beer, often laced with spirits of some kind, usually sold at 6d. a tin.⁽¹³⁰⁾

One of the most popular and notorious of shebeens was that run by Mtshikiana Gumede, an exempted African, at his house in Warwick Avenue (See Map 1). In November 1907, during the brief period of

(127) D.C.L. No.574, C.C. to T.C., 15 April 1908.

(128) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/418, 3762/1908, Report of the Chief Constable re Gumede's petition, 11 January 1908.

(129) D.C.L. No.574, C.C. to T.C., 15 April 1908.

(130) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/399, 1530/1908, C.I.D. Report re Preparation and Sale of Native Beer in Durban, 11 May 1908; also P.R.B. No.7, 1 October 1908.

prohibition, Gumede had been arrested for being in possession of 200 gallons of utshwala. J.S. Stuart found Gumede not guilty, whereupon he successfully sued the Durban Corporation, claiming £45 for damages and illegal arrest.⁽¹³¹⁾ At shebeens such as "Mtshikiana's" beer was available at any time, day or night, and if necessary, customers slept off the effects of the alcohol on the premises.⁽¹³²⁾

Alongside large-scale shebeen operations were a countless number of smaller brewing enterprises which probably found a brief life in the interstices of a labour coercive environment. Large quantities of beer were supplied by African women living illegally in ricksha sheds, often centres of riotous dancing, concertina playing and drinking.⁽¹³³⁾ The general character of shebeens in 'Darkest Durban', a term conjured up by the local press to describe the dangerous, drink-sodden town,⁽¹³⁴⁾ was captured by one police description which ran as follows :

The premises are in all cases ordinary dwelling houses, some very old, and mostly with boarded floors, and in all respects quite unsuitable for the use to which they are now put. The beer is produced in kitchens, bathrooms, open dusty yards, behind sanitary conveniences, and in fact in any recess, shanty, or space which affords a convenient standing place for the open receptacles. ⁽¹³⁵⁾

By the beginning of 1908, 76 places were known to be the strongholds of over 318 brewers although the number of shebeens was put at 200. In September of the same year, at least 112 shebeens, employing over 200 'scientific' brewers, were producing an estimated

(131) Natal Advertiser, 11 May 1908.

(132) D.C.L. No.574, Sergeant Rachmann to C.C., 11 April 1908.

(133) See D.C.L. No.563, Inspector of Nuisances to T.C., 12 November 1906; and D.C.L. No.575, A. Currie and six others to Mayor, 12 May 1908.

(134) Natal Mercury, 19 May 1908.

(135) D.C.L. No.576, Inspector of Nuisances to T.C., 9 April 1908. See also D.C.L. No.572, C.C. to T.C., 27 January 1908 for further descriptions of shebeens.

4 000 gallons of beer between Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The artificial distinction between utshwala, hop beer and other drink such as isitshimiyane, which had been generated in the ranks of Durban's white bourgeoisie, was no longer tenable. Certainly, in the alternative cultural space of the shebeen, it is doubtful if such distinctions existed.

The emergence of this resilient drinking culture, centred around the shebeen and accompanied by a range of cultural activities deeply rooted in a rural culture, as the activities of the amalaita gangs suggested, also presaged its marginalisation by the dominant classes. It is crucial to emphasise the importance of a rural consciousness in relation to the genesis of an urban culture. However, the presence of a vigorous drinking culture in Durban was not so much a hangover from a rural past, as a creative aspect of a popular culture, itself part of an evolving capitalist society.⁽¹³⁷⁾ With the development of a new social order constituted around capital, the forms of culture of the popular classes, such as a drinking culture in Durban, became a site of struggle in this process. Although the workplace was central to these struggles, they were not necessarily fought there. The struggles over popular access to drink of various kinds took place in streets, neighbourhoods, houses and backyards, and they were often at their most acute at specific times of the day and on certain days of the week. The lived experience, in other words the culture, of Africans in Durban was not functional to the needs of the town's dominant classes. Popular production and consumption of various forms of alcohol, some more ancient than others, reveals the dysfunctional relationship between the culture of subordinate classes and the dominant culture.

(136) For the survey which revealed 76 shebeens in Durban see D.C.L. No.574, C.C. to T.C., 15 April 1908. Map 1 indicates the geographical distribution of the shebeens. Undoubtedly there were many more shebeens than the police survey located.

(137) See Peter Burke, 'The "Discovery" of Popular Culture', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory, p.222.

The passing, in October, of the Native Beer Act (No.23) of 1908 met little resistance in Natal's Legislative Assembly. The Government had been given some time to reflect on its earlier opposition and, with the failure of prohibition and the obviously imprecise liquor laws, it was little more than a formality.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The principle embodied in the Act was based upon the Hop Beer Bill of 1907, but it applied to utshwala and not hop beer. Boroughs and townships in Natal could opt, in terms of the Act, either for (i) a license system whereby private persons might produce and sell beer under strict municipal supervision, or (ii) a monopoly system whereby the local authority would establish a municipal system of brewing and sale. The Act laid down that profits accruing from municipal beer halls were to be used for the purposes of building locations, barracks, schools and hospitals and of defraying expenses in connection with the Act, or 'any other object in the interests of Natives' residing in the town. This revenue was to be paid into a 'Native Administration Fund'.⁽¹³⁹⁾ This crucial provision finally relegated the ultimately unworkable togt system to a secondary role in financing native administration. In January 1909, Durban became the first local authority in Natal to opt for a municipal beer monopoly. Employers of labour, municipal officials, church and temperance groupings as well as white property owners in general, were supportive of the legislation. The Durban Church Council, which was generally representative of white church and temperance opinion in Durban, supported the principle of municipal monopoly and accepted it on a "trial" basis.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The single main white opponent of the new legislation was the sugar baron Marshall Campbell, who regarded municipal monopoly as potentially ruinous for Africans. Similar sentiments were expressed

(138) For the Government's discussion of the Bill see Debates of the Natal Legislative Council, 8 and 9 September 1908.

(139) Natal Government Gazette, No.3710, 10 October 1908, Act to amend the law relating to Native Beer.

(140) D.C.L. No.568, A.J. Cook (Hon.Sec.) Durban Church Council to Mayor, 2 August 1907. Interestingly, Rev. Cook was to become one of the harshest critics of the monopoly system in later years. See, Chapter 3, p.130 below.

by one stalwart Natal missionary, C.N. Ransom, who claimed that the monopoly would 'revolutionize African drinking customs'.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ It is likely that Marshall Campbell's animosity towards the legislation was based on his, and other coastal sugar planters, economic interests. The beer monopoly promised to provide new grain markets for Natal's midland farmers, but offered nothing to planters in Natal and Zululand. Moreover, sugar planters had recently lost their treacle market in Zululand when a prohibition was placed on the commodity because of its use in the preparation of isitshimiyane.⁽¹⁴²⁾

In one petition, 116 African traders protested against the municipal monopoly. While 'appreciating the efforts of the Corporation in encouraging them to support themselves by trading', the petitioners requested that the Corporation reconsider the deprivation of the position which they had 'worked so hard and spent so much money to attain'. In another petition, the Chairman of the Municipal Eating House Standholders' Organisation made a similar protest.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Mtshikiana Gumede also petitioned the Town Council to allow only Africans to run eating and drinking houses in Durban. The municipality dismissed these petitions and appropriated all the stock of African beer traders when the municipal monopoly was enforced in January 1909. In reply to Gumede's petition, the Chief Constable stated that :

(141) See Killie Campbell Library, Durban. Marshall Campbell Papers, File No.4, K.C.M. 32609, Marshall Campbell to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 11 November 1908; and File No.4, K.C.M. 32616, C.N. Ransom to Marshall Campbell, 31 August 1908.

(142) See Debates of the Natal Legislative Council, 8 September 1908. For a useful comparative study see J.M. Penvenne, 'A History of African Labour in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique 1877 to 1905', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1982, pp.124-46.

(143) D.C.L. No.580, Petition of 116 African traders to Mayor, 13 January 1909; and D.C.L. No.579, Aron Mbhambo (Chairman) and J.M. Shezi (Secretary) to Mayor, 7 December 1908.

the Native is still too much of a child to carry on a business of this sort with any method or care, and the result is that he is not in the running in competition with the European or Asiatic. (144)

This, indeed, was a curious epitaph to the eradication of the African petty trader from the streets, eating houses, ricksha sheds, stables, backyards and from those shebeens which the Chief Constable himself had noted for their 'urbanity'. But many beer sellers did not add their hand to such petitions. In this category were included many women who were hit hardest by the new legislation. Although women were not as established as male African traders, they comprised an important element in the beer trade. In January 1909, the Chief Constable held meetings with 320 traders, a few of whom were women, and informed them in detail of the implications of the legislation. (145)

The introduction of a municipal beer monopoly in Durban was not the outcome of a carefully planned strategy on the part of the local state in Durban. Rather, it was the specific form in which the subordination of Africans in Durban was realised, an outcome of a period of intense struggle over what constituted the most appropriate configuration of social relations in Durban. Alcohol, beer in particular, represented one area of common accord between various property owners in Durban: its uncontrolled consumption was not compatible with the control, coercion and cheap reproduction of labour. The earlier dissension over the form in which African labour was to be reproduced, whether the labouring classes should be housed in barracks or in a location, was in part, papered over by the institution of the monopoly. In this sense the "liquor question" represented a unity in the ideological discourse of Durban's white bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the municipal monopoly on beer production undermined the means of subsistence of a growing section of African beer traders who were reaping large profits from beer sales, a fact which native administration

(144) S.N.A., Vol.1/1/418, 3762/1908, Report of Chief Constable, re Gumede's Petition, 11 January 1908.

(145) S.N.A. Vol.1/1/416, 3514/1908, C.C. to C.M., 18 January 1909.

had accounted for when establishing a municipal eating house four years earlier. Further grounds for the expulsion of African women from Durban were also established through the monopoly. Sections of white commercial capital might have viewed the legislation of 1908 as cause for concern if they had been deeply involved in that area of consumption which the monopoly excised and appropriated. However, this was not the case; those commercial interests which were hit by the monopoly were either African petty traders, 'low-class foreigners' or Indians. (146)

In its broadest meaning, the monopoly was the most concerted attempt to rework a traditional cultural practice in a more general effort to ensure white hegemony in Durban, where an annual flow of 80 000 Africans threatened to appropriate the streets, backyards, perhaps the town itself. As a form of urban control the beer monopoly suggested a more sophisticated kind of coercion. Workers were not compelled to drink municipally-provided beer and so the system was essentially "voluntary". By purchasing municipal beer, the African worker in Durban was to subsidize his own reproduction and control at no expense to white property owners. The first three municipal beer halls were in Victoria Street, Bell Street and Ordnance Road (See Map 1). They provided low alcohol content beer (not more than four percent proof spirit) to a relatively captive market. The outlets showed an immediate profit and popular drunkenness apparently declined. The Mayor of Durban congratulated the Government and the Town Council on the 'beneficial effects' of the monopoly. (147)

Upon the Native Beer Act rested the elaboration of the 'Durban system', a system of 'Native administration' which became a model for ruling class domination and exploitation of subject classes in urban centres throughout South Africa, and which stirred interest as far afield as east Africa. Through the revenue provisions of the Act, the municipal monopoly was able to provide the material

(146) See p.52 above.

(147) Natal Archives, Prime Minister's Office, Vol.75, 60/1909, Mayor to Prime Minister, 6 February 1909.

platform for a complex and more intelligent system of social control over Durban's African workforce. Simultaneously, it provided a crucial support for a cheap labour system. The monopoly system was forged through particular struggles between the rulers and dominated classes in the town. The implementation and development of the Durban system was similarly contested.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER TWO

'DRINKING IN A CAGE' : THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DURBAN SYSTEM, 1909-1918.

... this project is one which requires the most careful handling as the natives themselves are extremely critical as to the quality of their native beer which calls for careful manipulation, uniformity of quality, proper control of fermentation, and above all the utmost cleanliness without which a really wholesome and suitable beer cannot be produced.

(O. Brook, Head Brewer, South African Breweries, 23 September 1908).

We can see as they have also seen, and are prohibiting our meetings, because they foresee that to meet together will bring to light the bad things by which they govern us... The magistrates have gone scuffling after the natives of the Native Eating Houses and Beer Houses because they want to further advance their object of disuniting the Natives.

(H.S. Nkwanyana to Ilanga lase Natal, 23 March 1917).

The institution of a beer monopoly promised to solve Durban's "native question" in a number of ways. It represented an intervention by the local state in an area common to all white property owners in the town. Furthermore, the monopoly represented the most uniform expression of the need to maintain those conditions favourable for the continued reproduction of a cheap labour force. The struggle to make African lived experience and its cultural expressions conform more closely to the needs of capital, was partly realized through the institution of a municipal beer monopoly. At the same time, it came to provide, through time, the material platform for a complex system of control over Durban's African population.

The important innovation which lay in Act No.23 of 1908 stemmed

from its intervention at a level neither anticipated by, nor modelled upon, the togt legislation which had previously formed the basis of urban native policy in Natal. In the past, the local state in Durban had drawn revenue from Africans in the form of job registration fees and fines for the contravention of the togt laws and municipal bye-laws. This revenue had gone some distance in cheapening African labour power as well as financing local administration and control, particularly the Borough Police. The beer monopoly, rather than extracting revenue from the African worker in the workplace, proposed such extraction in an area relatively discrete from the shop-floor itself. The African worker was under no compulsion to drink municipal beer. However, given the illegality and proscription of alternative beer and alcohol outlets (such as shebeens and illicit brewers), and the extent of beer drinking as a popular form of recreation in Durban, the posing of the system as "voluntary" was addressed primarily to white mission, temperance and teetotal pressure groups.

The official notion that Africans were not compelled to drink municipal beer made possible a shift away from the more explicitly coercive basis of the togt system. While the togt system relied on a two-pronged strategy: taxation and police coercion, the beer monopoly suggested a more sophisticated form of control, namely that of indirect taxation. The revenue from Durban's beer halls after 1909 provided the support for a greatly expanded local native affairs bureaucracy which, at an ideological level, placed great emphasis on notions of welfare and paternalistic administration. This specialised bureaucracy oversaw and reproduced a system of urban control which was funded by beer revenue and rested upon police protection. The role of the Borough Police in maintaining the efficiency, indeed the existence of the system, was pivotal. A constant struggle had to be waged by the Police against shebeens and illegal liquor outlets if the integrity of the municipal monopoly was to be maintained. The symbiotic relationship between police, native affairs bureaucrats and

the beer monopoly was clearly drawn out by the dependence of the Borough Police on beer revenue. Mayor Charles Henwood pointed to this close alliance between apparatuses of the local state when he claimed that :

The Police Force is closely allied to the Tugt Department, the Municipal Indian Market, the Municipal Native Eating Houses and Native Beer Administration Departments. If the police were not controlled by the Municipality, there would be considerable difficulty in properly administering these important departments. (1)

Not only were Africans taxed indirectly on their means of subsistence but they also paid for their own policing. (2)

While the togt system continued to draw revenue from Durban's African workforce as it had done in the past, it was relegated to a secondary position by the beer monopoly. Whereas the togt system had never affected more than one third of Africans in Durban, the municipal beer monopoly could raise revenue from all sections of the male workforce. The decline in revenue to the Tugt Fund which had been partially the result of the post-war depression, was rapidly compensated by the revenue flowing into municipal coffers from beer sales. What was initially known as the 'Durban System of supply and control of Kaffir beer to Natives' was, by 1918, to possess a wider significance than the mere control of alcohol to Africans. As Swanson has pointed out, a piece of liquor legislation was to provide the key support for a "more intensive and comprehensive programme of paternalistic administration than ever before". (3) Not only did this programme promise to extend the coercive and influx control provisions of the old togt system, but it also made possible the cheapening of the social costs of African labour in the town, particularly by providing barrack and hostel accommodation for African

(1) D.C.L. No.600, Mayor to Clerk of the House of Assembly, 23 January 1911.

(2) See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.135-139.

(3) Swanson, '"The Durban System"', p.174.

workers. The degree to which this promise was realised between 1909 and 1918, was by no means complete. The resolution of the struggles of 1902-1908 generated further contradictions and new problems of social control for Durban's rulers.

Housing, Municipal Monopoly and Social Control

By January 1909, three municipal eating houses, each with a beer hall section, were operational at Victoria Street, Ordinance Road and at the Point (See Map 1). The scores of privately-owned eating houses which had previously served as liquor outlets had been forced to close down. The initial financial returns of the beer halls was a vindication for those Councillors who had favoured municipal monopoly, rather than licensed liquor outlets, as the most efficient means of controlling African access to beer and generating municipal revenue. For the year 1909, revenue from beer sales amounted to £7 937, while rents from African stallholders, most of whom sold food in the eating houses, amounted to £932. By the end of 1910, these figures had doubled, being £15 849 and £857 for beer sales and stall rents respectively.⁽⁴⁾ These massive financial returns far surpassed the average annual income of the Togt Fund between 1876 and 1904.⁽⁵⁾ The central eating house in Victoria Street accounted for roughly 68% of total beer revenue, illustrating the concentration of African living quarters in this area. An official statement that the 'manufacture and sale of Kafir' beer had 'worked admirably', was not without justification.

In 1910, a department was established to streamline the beer hall system. The head of the department, W. Wanless, was given the rather elaborate title 'Superintendent of Native Eating Houses and Native Brewery'. One of Wanless' first

(4) D.C.L. No.602, Municipal Native Eating Houses, Statement of Revenue, January 1909 to April 1911.

(5) See Appendix II.

duties was to sort out accounts and charges which had been arbitrarily debited, either to the Togt Fund, or to the Native Beer Administration Fund.⁽⁶⁾ The profits and revenue from municipal beer sales were rapidly ploughed back into the infrastructure of the system of administration which was developing from the municipal beer monopoly. The existing beer halls were extended and renovated, and plans for the erection of further barracks were made. The monopoly system made possible the implementation of an urban policy which placed severe restrictions on African permanence in the town. While the "location debate" of 1904 had been resolved in favour of housing African workers in barracks close to the workplace, the financial basis for this policy prior to 1908 was unsound. With the large returns shown by the beer monopoly, the enforced migrancy of African workers was provided with a real basis in the form of barrack accommodation.

In 1911, the Brook Street Cement Store was converted into a hostel for African women. This suggested the extent to which the control and coercion of the workforce was being implemented in the heart of the town. Moreover, the Native Women's Hostel as it was also called, was the first in a series of steps taken by the local state to resolve 'the question of a permanent home for women living in Durban'. By July 1912, the Hostel was providing sleeping accommodation for 1 000 predominantly kholwa women. Another section of the building was erected to house 'Kraal women' on segregated lines. Between October 1911 and October 1913 a total of 25 658 beds were let, at 1d. per night, to African women who were either working in, or visiting, the town.⁽⁷⁾ Despite a policy of enforced migrancy of African workers it

(6) D.C.L. No.602, W. Wanless to Councillor Baumann, May 1911. The Native Beer Administration Fund became known as simply the Native Administration Fund.

(7) See Mayor's Minute, 1912, p.222; and D.C.L., Monthly Reports of the Native Administration Department (hereafter N.A.D.), 1912. Well over half of the beds were taken by kholwa women.

was impossible for the local state in Durban to suppress the reality that a section of the workforce was becoming permanently urbanised. The continual effort to undermine African permanence in Durban, and hence to lower the costs of African reproduction, was to give the struggle for the city its particular character.

While greater attention was devoted by the municipality to the provision of formal accommodation for workers, by 1912 only a quarter of Durban's African community was living in municipal accommodation. Between 1910 and 1913 the size of Durban's African population increased from 16 489 to 20 203. Out of this population about 5 850 were housed in municipal quarters. (8)

Table 2 African municipal accommodation, c.1914.

Central Togt Barracks, Ordnance Road.	400
Old Togt Barracks, Point	450
.. New Togt Barracks, Point.	2 000
Goal Barracks.	1 000
African Men's Hostel, Queen Street.	1 000
African Women's Hostel, Brook Street.	1 000

The bulk of these workers were involved in togt labour. They comprised less than half the African population which, in 1913, was estimated at 20 302. Official estimates could not have put the African female population at more than 2 000. (9) Revenue in the Native Administration Fund, which by 1913 had reached over £25 000 per annum, was used to renovate old barracks and eating houses and to establish

(8) These figures are approximate and are obtainable from various correspondence in D.C.L., Mayor's Minutes and S.A.N.A.C., Minutes of Evidence, Vol.III, Evidence of R.C. Alexander, pp.640 658; and Evidence of R. Jameson, pp.744-753. South African Railways workers were housed in separate quarters at Eastern Vlei. Indian municipal employees were also housed at Eastern Vlei (see Map 1).

(9) The Census of 1911 had put Durban's African female population at less than 2 000. See Chapter 1, p.48 above.

new ones. The revenue was also used to pay the salaries of a growing native affairs bureaucracy and to subsidize 'police services connected with the administering of Act 23', a phrase allowing great leeway in interpretation.⁽¹⁰⁾

Prior to 1913, the municipality was equipped with rudimentary brewing and malting facilities. The output of this brewery in 1911 was 262 658 gallons and the following year it had increased to 314 241 gallons of beer.⁽¹¹⁾ With the establishment of another beer hall and eating house at Umgeni in 1912, and signs of a booming municipal beer trade, plans for the erection of a large-scale brewing plant were made. In 1913 a sophisticated municipal beer brewery, the first of its kind in South Africa, was established using part of the beer revenue accumulated during the previous four years. The two-storey brewing plant, situated in Ordnance Road, comprised the most advanced European technology in this field and represented a massive capital investment of over £14 000.⁽¹²⁾ The establishment of the brewery was an ambitious move largely dictated by a clear perception of the profits that were to be derived from the monopoly. Even the Chief Constable was 'alarmed' by such unidirectional expenditure which, according to him, threatened 'the police control and good conduct by the Natives themselves'.⁽¹³⁾

Such large-scale expenditure was not however confined to the brewery, for a further eating house and beer hall were established in 1914 at a cost of £8 000.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Prince Alfred Street beer hall was the fifth beer hall erected in

(10) Mayor's Minute, 1911, p.23.

(11) See Mayor's Minute, 1912, Summary of Returns from Native Brewery for the year ended 31 July 1912, p.223.

(12) Mayor's Minute, 1913, p.195; and D.C.L. No.654, C.C. to T.C., 5 February 1914.

(13) See D.C.L. No.654, C.C. to T.C. (confidential), 5 February 1914; and D.M.C. Vol.499, File 4/174/1914, Native Beer, C.M. to Chief Native Commissioner (hereafter C.N.C.), 25 February 1914. The Chief Magistrate also expressed alarm at this venture.

(14) Mayor's Minute, 1914, p.11.

Durban. It was at these five beer halls that the finances necessary to keep the social costs of African labour low were generated. By 1916 the municipal Brewery was producing 1 023 gallons of beer per day which meant that each year some 321 440 gallons of utshwala were distributed to the various municipal beer halls. Stringent control of the alcohol level of the beer was maintained by the Borough Analyst and his returns show a fairly consistent alcohol content, rarely exceeding 3 percent.⁽¹⁵⁾ The widespread attention which the monopoly system was attracting from local authorities within the Union extended to Southern Rhodesia where the Bulawayo Municipality introduced a beer monopoly in 1913. Undoubtedly it was the erection of African barracks and hostels from beer revenue which generated this degree of attention.

Durban's municipal accommodation could only house just over a quarter of the town's African working population. The Depot Road (or Somtseu) "location" (see Map 1) was built in 1915 in an effort to accommodate this expanding community, a large section of whom were living in dwellings dispersed throughout the town. Although it was called the Depot Road location, it was not a location in the sense of the word as employed in 1904.⁽¹⁶⁾ It was more along the lines of a hostel or barracks. At a cost of £17 000 to the Native Administration Fund, the location provided accommodation for over 625 male workers under strictly controlled conditions.⁽¹⁷⁾ The location included a lecture hall and the several blocks housed workers in rooms each holding either five or ten beds. One block of rooms was set aside for the use of married men. Rentals ranged from 3d. per night to 5s. per month. The Chief Constable regarded the location as 'the most convenient place for store boys, ricksha pullers and Natives

(15) See T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkts. 1-3, Monthly Reports of the Borough Analyst, 1916-1924.

(16) See Chapter 1, pp.43-4 above.

(17) Mayor's Minute, 1915, p.12.

of every description employed in the town.' (18)

Another important development in the provision of African housing was the construction of a 'Native village' (later known as Baumannville) on Eastern Vlei (see Map 1). By July 1916 the erection of 36 two-roomed, semi-detached cottages for married Africans living in Durban had been completed at a cost of £8 519, debited to the apparently inexhaustible Native Administration Fund. Baumannville represented, in a caricatured form, the vision of family accommodation which had previously been projected by R.C. Alexander and R. Jameson. (19) The size of the village made it little more than a small-scale compromise to increasing African urbanisation in Durban. In 1918 Baumannville was extended to include a further twenty-four cottages, suggesting an acknowledgement by the local state of the 'growing (African) preference for residence in or near town'. (20)

Baumannville was exhibited as an object lesson in native administration. Durban's Mayor stated that Baumannville represented conditions of African living which were 'far ahead of any yet rendered available in South Africa.' (21) In order to centralise and streamline this model system of administration, a professional manager of a well-staffed Native Administration Department (N.A.D.) was appointed in 1916. J.S. Marwick, an owner of considerable property in Natal, was appointed as the first Manager of the N.A.D. Marwick had been Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs in the Transvaal, where he played an important role in the formulation

(18) T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.36, File 49, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C. 24 November 1911.

(19) See Chapter 1, p.43 above.

(20) J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns (Durban, 1918), p.1. (Copy in Pamphlet Collection, Natal Archives). This was a published version of a lecture given by Marwick at the Technical College, Durban in August 1918.

(21) Mayor's Minute, 1916, p.22.

of laws enforcing the prohibition of alcohol to Africans. The funding of the Department was provided by beer revenue which continued to show a healthy profit. Beer revenue had climbed from £7 937 in 1909 to £24 163 in 1916.⁽²²⁾ Marwick maintained a sharp eye on the workings of the monopoly system and on the wider system of control which was its outgrowth. The municipal N.A.D. presided over an administration of wide-ranging scope and activity and enhanced the emergence and development of a specialized native affairs bureaucracy. These officials, in conjunction with the Borough Police maintained an increasingly sophisticated system of African coercion and control resting on the revenue generated by the "voluntary" consumption of utshwala.

Although the provision of African welfare and educational facilities from the Native Administration Fund was legislated for in terms of Act 23 of 1908, this section of the Act was rarely utilized. In 1916, £489 was channelled into the running of the Congella Hospital. Similar small-scale funding of African medical services and night schools was also provided.⁽²³⁾ The single largest capital outlay on welfare between 1909 and 1920 was on the erection of a school for African children. By 1920, capital outlay on the school was £6 609.⁽²⁴⁾ The provision of welfare was made only when it was viewed as essential for the physical reproduction of African workers. Judging from the amount of revenue channelled into medical services and social welfare by the local state in the pre-1918 period, this perception appears to have been generally absent.

By 1918, numerous other local authorities in South Africa were making enquiries into the workings of the Durban system. British colonies such as the Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Southern

(22) See Appendix X for the income to the Native Beer Administration Fund during this period.

(23) See T.C.F. Vol.102, File 417, Grants-in-aid from Native Beer Fund, 1914-1916.

(24) See Appendix X for a comparison between welfare expenditure and revenue used for general native administration (housing, official's salaries, beer halls, etc.)

Rhodesia expressed deep interest.⁽²⁵⁾ In 1921, the Deputy Principal Medical Officer of the Uganda Protectorate visited Durban. He produced a lengthy report on the workings of the Durban system with a view to implementing a similar system in Uganda.⁽²⁶⁾ Similarly, in 1916, a lengthy report was issued by the Johannesburg Town Council on the workings of the monopoly system in relation to African housing.⁽²⁷⁾ For the year 1916-1917 Durban derived an astonishing £41 677 in revenue from its African population, by far the highest income accruing to any of South Africa's 217 local authorities.⁽²⁸⁾ Ever sensitive to the needs of local capital in Durban, the Town Council claimed in 1912 that it 'would be unfair to compel employers of labour and owners of property to expend money on new native quarters'.⁽²⁹⁾ Between 1909 and 1918 the question of taxing white property owners, in order to finance part of the social costs of African labour in the town, was never raised. The municipal beer monopoly pre-empted its being posed. While Africans drank municipal beer white taxpayers did not have their pockets touched. The

-
- (25) See T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, 1908-1919; and Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkts. 1-3, 1916-1920. Louis Trichardt, Benoni, Bloemfontein, Aliwal North and Grahamstown were just a few of the municipalities which expressed interest in the monopoly system during this period.
- (26) J. Hope Redford, Report on Enquiry into the Durban System of Control of Native Beer, 30 April 1921. (Copy in T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.3).
- (27) Report of Deputation sent to Durban by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg to Enquire into the System of Housing Natives and the Sale of Kaffir Beer to Natives, 1916. (Copy in T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.2).
- (28) Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the years 1913-1918, U.G. 7-'19, Annexure F, pp.84-87. Pietermaritzburg, which had also instituted a municipal beer monopoly, derived £11 863 for the same period. This represented the second highest income.
- (29) Mayor's Minute, 1912, p.16.

monopoly provided the crucial prop for the cheap reproduction of African labour.

However, it was a support which depended upon socio-economic realities, not merely of the town, but of the broader political economy of Natal and the Union as a whole. While the early post-Union period provides striking evidence of the capacity of the monopoly system to provide some of the most important supports necessary for the cheap reproduction of African labour power, this was only part of a wider, more complex picture. At no point did the monopoly system pass unchallenged by African popular classes who were at its receiving end. The barrack, once erected, had to be filled. Municipal beer, once brewed, had to be consumed. The beer, once drunk, had to produce an efficient and disciplined workforce. These outcomes, amongst others, were not uniformly achieved between 1909 and 1918 since the lived experience of Africans in Durban remained in continual conflict with the dominant culture. In this sense the development of the infrastructure of the Durban system needs to be contextualized.

Housing, Liquor and Dagga: Municipal Control and the Struggle over Time-Discipline

When investigations by the Town Council into the establishment of further beer halls were carried out in 1909, the extent to which Africans were living outside of municipal accommodation in the town was sharply revealed. For example, in the Williams Road area (see Map 1) in Congella, over eight-hundred ricksha pullers, two hundred and fifty dockworkers and four-hundred domestic servants occupied various premises. These ranged from the privately-owned, licensed accommodation of ricksha pullers to the backyard rooms of domestic servants. In the Umgeni Road district (see Map 1) two thousand 'house or store boys', seventy washermen and a hundred and forty rickshamen were located by this investigation.⁽³⁰⁾ These

(30) D.C.L. No.586, C.C. to T.C., 27 September 1909.

figures are by no means representative of dwelling concentrations for the whole of Durban and, undoubtedly, such police surveys did not account for large numbers of lumpen elements with no immediately obvious means of subsistence. However, they do provide evidence for a more general picture which reflects the extent of informal African dwelling in the town.

It was frequently claimed by white residents and police officials that there was 'little control' over those workers and unemployed Africans who lived in the white residential part of the town. Furthermore, they were reportedly living in numbers 'too great for safety'; at least according to the Women's Enfranchisement League.⁽³¹⁾ Many Africans lived in barracks and stables provided by employers or, in other instances, rooms were obtained from Indian rackrenters. With regard to the last category, Durban's Chief Constable reported:

A native will rent a room from an Indian at about 10/- to 15/- per month. He will then occupy the room in company with three or four others, so that the rent between them is very small. Natives who rent rooms of this description are usually employed by timber merchants, painters, saddlers, and bootmakers, and do not care for the restrictions of the compound.

Africans living in privately licensed barracks were regarded in similarly negative terms:

No European (is) in charge of these stables or barracks which contain hundreds of boys, ... supervision is very lax, and with the Beach bush in the vicinity, it is quite difficult to round them up as it is mostly at night (that) women visit the barracks. (32)

Municipal barracks were posited as an alternative to uncon-

(31) D.C.L. No.598, J. Forbes, Hon.Sec. of Women's Enfranchisement League to Mayor, 14 February 1911.

(32) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., May 1915.

trolled informal African housing. The housing of workers in barracks was seen as a means of instilling into Africans a work and time-discipline, as well as centralising their accommodation. In a similar way, the beer hall was one means of catering for the social control of Africans during non-working hours, providing one alternative to recreation such as the patronage of prostitutes in the Brickhill Road area or to the shebeens in the town and on its outskirts. After 1909, local authority was provided with greater financial resources to extend the control exercised in the workplace into the living space of Durban's African population.

The closed compound system of post-1880 Kimberley and the highly controlled male-only barracks of the Reef and Southern Rhodesia represented forms of worker control whose development must be seen in relation to the configuration of mining capital and conditions of class struggle in these particular regions.⁽³³⁾ John Rex has indicated the significance of various forms of worker accommodation in South Africa as institutions of control and exploitation, based mainly upon an examination of the coercion and control characteristic of the systems in operation in Kimberley and the Witwatersrand.⁽³⁴⁾

Municipal barracks in Durban, in common with those in existence in other centres of production in Southern Africa, operated to (i) keep African workers close to the point of production; (ii) concentrate the African working classes in one place, facilitating efficient control, policing and labour supply;

(33) For case studies see Rob Turrell, 'Kimberley: labour and compounds, 1871-1888'; and F.A. Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold (London, 1976), pp.34-45. For a discussion of the role of the compound in Southern Rhodesia see Charles van Onselen, Chibaro (Johannesburg, 1980), pp.128-157.

(34) John Rex, 'The Compound, the Reserve and the Urban Location: The Essential Institutions of Southern African Labour exploitation', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol. 1, No.4, 1974, pp.4-17; also Sean Moroney, 'The Development of the Compound as a Mechanism of Worker Control, 1900-1912', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.4, No.3, 1978, pp.29-49.

(iii) dismember the emergence of broad-based political and trade union organisation, and (iv) to cheapen costs of reproduction and hence depress wages. However, Durban's municipal barracks only housed a quarter of the African working population in the town. The continual struggle by local authority in Durban to compel African workers to reside in municipal barracks, was based on the need for greater control of workers, most of whom were living under conditions which were seen as conducive to crime, disease and lack of discipline.

The accommodation of Africans in barracks and hostels was viewed by the municipal N.A.D. as a means of cultivating a conception of time and labour discipline appropriate to an essentially non-industrial urban environment. In 1918, J.S. Marwick had cause to note that:

We shall have failed to give the Native the best out of his sojourning in the towns if we do not inculcate by precept and practice these simple lessons: that his attachment to work will determine the measure of his progress in life, that his work must therefore be more continuous, and that education, intelligence, and attention to his employer's interests are factors which will make for his own advancement. (35)

The togt worker, domestic servant and monthly servants employed in a wide variety of capacities by mercantile and trading companies needed, according to the manager of the municipal N.A.D., to be taught the 'habit of voluntary industry'. (36) This problem of re-education manifested itself as one of disciplining a predominantly migratory labour force which continued to affirm ties of various kinds in the countryside of Natal and Zululand.

The inculcation of new labour habits, in opposition to the more irregular time cycles of a people involved in agricultural

(35) J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns, p.6

(36) J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns, p.6

production that was not highly structured to market demands, was achieved through the coercion of African workers in all aspects of their daily lives. In the workplace, this was achieved particularly through strict supervision and penal sanctions attached to job registration. Outside of the workplace, new labour habits were inculcated by curfew, vagrancy and liquor bye-laws. The Depot Road location was opened in 1916 at a time when new and more rigorous Location and Registration Bye-laws were being passed. The new establishment was lauded in the following terms:

(the) supervision to be maintained will teach habits of cleanliness and give a stimulus to the observance of punctuality, good order, and good conduct, among the inmates of the Quarters. (37)

As has been noted elsewhere, the process whereby time-measurement becomes a means of labour exploitation is characteristic of the transition to industrial capitalism. (38) Although manufacturing industry only took off in Durban in the 1920's, the struggle over differing time conceptions was an integral part of wider struggles during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The municipal barracks were more easily policed than the numerous other African dwellings in the town. Police raids on private dwellings for the purpose of checking registrations, destroying illicit liquor and expelling African women from the town, tended to encourage the desertion of workers. With large numbers of workers concentrated in one area, and with a white superintendent and African indunas working in close collaboration with the police, the barrack presented a picture of stringent coercion and control. Yet even in the barracks, African workers resisted the harsh control which these institutions embodied. The largest togt barracks in Durban,

(37) Mayor's Minute, 1916, p.22.

(38) See E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', Past and Present, No.38, 1967, p.80.

situated at the Point, were subject to intermittent police raids. One such raid in 1913 revealed the extent to which workers in municipal barracks were actively resisting the discipline imposed by single-sex barracks. Over fifty women were found on the premises, eight were charged with failing to give a satisfactory account of themselves and thirty-three men were charged either with trespassing (the barracks were severely overcrowded) or for being in arrears with their togt badges. Over 100 'unclassifiable' males were also discovered, indicating the dubious efficiency of the registration regulations.

A deputation of twelve togt workers appeared before Chief Magistrate Percy Binns. While agreeing that it was entirely justifiable that those escaping payment of registration fees should be arrested, the workers' main grievances constellated around the presence of women in the barracks. They claimed that the women in the barracks were on visits and the treatment of these women by the police was inappropriate, coming as it did, from 'those who are here in authority and who should protect' the togt worker. Women found sleeping with their husbands were assaulted and stripped of their clothes. The police told workers that: 'It is not desirable that women should come to the barracks; that women who wear clothes are prostitutes'.⁽³⁹⁾

If the barrack system was one means of establishing work-discipline amongst African workers, then the beer hall too, became incorporated in the same process. While the living conditions in barracks were squalid, the inmates subject to surveillance by superintendents and indunas as well as being open to police raids, the beer halls, on the other hand, suggested a more disguised form of social control. One of the few legal outlets for popular social intercourse was provided by Durban's municipal beer halls. The beer hall system

(39) D.C.L. No.647, Representation made by the Togg Labourers of Durban in Chief Magistrates Court Room, 13 October 1913.

gave support to more general attempts by employers of labour and the municipality to enforce rigorous control of the African workforce both within and outside of working hours. The establishment of beer halls and eating houses (which were located in the same complex) in those areas with the highest concentrations of African living quarters, was clearly aimed at keeping the movement of workers within the town to a minimum. The migration of Africans from either the workplace or from their dwellings to distant beer halls or even to peri-urban shebeens, was thus obviated.

In their physical aspect the beer halls presented a stark and highly controlled environment. One contemporary description of a beer hall in Durban ran as follows:

The building is divided by a high wire fence and one portion is set aside for the sale of native beer, where only male natives over the age of 15 years may purchase a ticket for three pence and not more than sixpence worth of beer from the overseers at the office; he then passes through a turnstile and presents the ticket to the native barman who cancels the ticket and places it in a tin receptacle ... The native on being supplied with beer in a suitable tin adjourns to the sitting accommodation ... he leaves the building through an exit turnstile. This method prevents natives from getting more than one drink, and is most effective in preventing indiscriminate drinking and idling. (40)

Municipal utshwala was available between 8am and 8pm to males over the age of fifteen years. The rapid increase in municipal beer sales between 1909 and 1912 suggests the extent to which Durban's beer halls were patronised, despite their obviously stark physical character. And yet the shebeen did not die a silent death after the introduction of municipal beer halls. Illicit brewing continued within the town, admittedly on a smaller scale than previously, and many brewers merely shifted their activities to the peri-urban areas of Durban. Moreover, these shebeens continued to be frequented by labourers

(40) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, W. Wanless to T.C., 3 September 1915.

from the town, who in doing so, were resisting, at least implicitly, the attempts at labour coercion by the local state.

While Act 23 of 1908 had significantly reduced drunkenness within Durban itself, the provisions of the Act did not apply to areas more than five miles from the outer boundaries of the Borough.⁽⁴¹⁾ This loophole in the Act served to support the resilient alternative drinking culture centered around shebeens in the peri-urban areas. To the south of the town, past South Coast Junction in the Merebank and Isipingo areas (see Map 2), extensive brewing took place. Durban's Chief Magistrate reported that whites and Indians let rooms to 'unemployed' Africans 'from all parts of the colony', and that rooms let by Indian rackrenters attracted 'the riff-raff of Durban out to Merebank (to) sell this beer'. Furthermore, he continued, 'the natives who brew, make such a large amount by this trade that they do not need to grow any crops'.⁽⁴²⁾

Beyond suggesting the existence and widespread patronage of shebeens, particularly those in peri-urban areas, the records remain silent. However, of the continual struggle by the police to root out this alternative cultural expression, there is little doubt. If the 'nooks and crannies' of everyday life are scoured in the way suggested by van Onselen, a clearer picture of the interface between African accommodation and resistance emerges.⁽⁴³⁾

(41) For reports on the decrease in African drunkenness after 1909 see T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.2, C.C. to T.C., 14 November 1916; also see Appendix XVIII.

(42) D.M.C. Vol.494, File D. 4/280/1914, Natives Land Act, C.M. to C.N.C., 5 May 1914.

(43) Van Onselen, amongst others, has criticized the notion that political consciousness of black workers should be assessed largely through the presence or absence of associations and organisations which manifestly articulate worker interests. See C. van Onselen, 'Worker Consciousness in Black Miners, Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920', Journal of African History, Vol.14, No.2, 1973, pp.237-239.

The preparation and consumption of illicit, quick-fermenting and highly intoxicating brews (such as isitshimiyane) can be viewed as an expression of popular opposition to the municipal beer hall as a particular form of recreation, to be enjoyed at times and places stipulated and enforced by local authority. Between 1912 and 1917 a steady increase in the number of offences relating to the possession of quick-fermenting drinks was reported. These figures are reflected in the following Table. (44)

Table 3 Africans in possession of liquor other than utshwala
1912-1917.

<u>Year</u>	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
<u>Convictions</u>	19	23	37	55	76	120

Sigwagwagwa, skokiana, ikali, and especially isitshimiyane, were brews which could be rapidly prepared in a vigorously policed town where utshwala, if it were to be brewed, would be highly conspicuous because of the nature of its preparation. (45) After 1911, the drinking of methylated spirits was noted to be on the increase. In an effort to reduce its popularity, pyridine and wood naptha were added to bottles of meths. (46)

The Borough Police and municipal N.A.D. were acutely aware of the importance of keeping the beer halls open for a time-period sufficiently long to satisfy popular demand, but short enough to ensure labour coercion and worker productivity. Practice proved this strategy to be a kind of balancing act,

(44) Mayor's Minutes, 1912-1917.

(45) A similar point has been made in relation to slumyard brewing on the Witwatersrand during the 1930's. See Ellen Hellmann, 'Beer brewing in an Urban Native Yard', Bantu Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 1935, pp.56-57.

(46) D.C.L. No.597, C.C. to T.C., 9 February 1911.

with no guarantee of worker sobriety. Chief Constable Donovan called for the beer halls to remain open on public holidays, if dangerous consequences were to be avoided. If they closed on holidays, Donovan claimed, 'the native population will seek drink elsewhere'.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The seeking out of the alternative institution of the shebeen was already part of a week-end ritual carried out by many African workers.

At a general level, debates over the access of working classes to various kinds of alcohol in industrialising societies have essentially been debates about how leisure time should be spent.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The local state in Durban manifested a keen appreciation, very early on, of the dangers of uncontrolled working class recreation. In 1914 it was reported by one committee of the Town Council that :

The problem is essentially one of the control of leisure, and your committee is satisfied that the endeavours of the Council to provide a solution in this direction (beer monopoly) in so far as the native population of the Borough is concerned, are bearing fruit. ⁽⁴⁹⁾

The beer halls had begun, with mixed success, to enforce a more stringent discipline on one form of popular recreation - beer drinking. However, a further cultural practice which temporarily escaped the reworking of the local state was that of dagga-smoking. By 1912, African dagga-smoking had fallen firmly into that category of cultural activities which attracted the attention of the local state.

Not only were eating houses the official outlets for municipal beer, but they also provided a relatively small group of African

(47) D.C.L. No.591, C.C. to T.C., 19 May 1910.

(48) For a related point see Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, p.32.

(49) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, Report of the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee re Native Beer, 14 September 1914. (emphasis added)

traders with a place to sell their wares, engage in food-selling or sell their skills as craftsmen. A growing number of meat, beverage, herb and dagga sellers, as well as wood-sellers, boxmakers, cobblers, saddlers, clothes traders, matchmakers and typists catered for Africans temporarily or permanently in the town. Trading stalls could be hired for 1s. and wares were sold to an African market which, according to the Chief Magistrate, was particularly desirous of 'European clothing and food'.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It was also from Durban's eating house traders that dagga could be freely obtained by African workers.

In 1912, a police report stated that : 'fully two-thirds of male natives go in for this practice' (dagga-smoking). It was also pointed out that many Africans relied on the sale of dagga for their means of subsistence and that the green herb was 'available freely all over town'. The report continued:

It is usually smoked ... in the evenings. It produces a ravenous appetising effect in addition to making the user stupid ... and causing a tendency towards violence. Leita gangs commonly smoke insangu (dagga) when preparing for a fight as it stimulates their desire for trouble and excites to a great extent their savage proclivities. (51)

A thriving dagga trade, conducted from eating houses, was noticeable up to 1914. Those workers who lived in barracks and hostels were reportedly one of the greatest consumers of dagga.⁽⁵²⁾ The alarm expressed in Durban about widespread dagga smoking at this time, was echoed at a national level by the report of the Commission appointed to Enquire into

(50) Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1910, U.17-1911, Report of Chief Magistrate, Durban, p.186.

(51) D.C.L. No.625, Police Report re Smoking of Insangu by Natives in Durban, 18 September 1912.

(52) D.C.L. No.637, C.C. to T.C., 1 April 1913.

Assaults on Women. In 1913 the Commission reported that there was a direct connection between dagga smoking and assaults upon women. It suggested that dagga be included in the schedule of poisons throughout the Union and the practice of smoking and trading be made a criminal offence.⁽⁵³⁾ In December 1913, the C.N.C. informed the municipal N.A.D. that dagga, in terms of Section 27 of Act No.35 of 1896, had been declared a prohibited drug.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This intervention was greeted with the approbation of the local state which, according to the Manager of the municipal N.A.D., had 'been anxious for quite a long time to get this obnoxious habit, which had such a demoralising effect on the natives, stopped'.⁽⁵⁵⁾ After the introduction of prohibition, a big decrease in the number of stalls let at the eating houses was noted.⁽⁵⁶⁾ This was undoubtedly an indication of the scale of the dagga trade and the extent of popular consumption of dagga in Durban.

The marginalisation of dagga-smoking by Africans represents one facet of a more generalised onslaught on uncontrolled popular recreation in Durban. Both alcohol and drugs provided one means of making the punishing conditions of proletarian existence more habitable. Their proscription, which was rooted in the need to enforce a work-discipline appropriate to an industrialising society, had uneven results. This unevenness stemmed from the continuous resilience of African lived experience in relation to the increasingly

(53) See Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into Assaults on Women, 1913, U.G. 39-13, para. 86, p.20

(54) D.C.L. No.650, Report of Manager municipal N.A.D., December 1913.

(55) Mayor's Minute, 1914, p.150.

(56) Mayor's Minute, 1914, p.150. For a comparative study see van Onselen, Chibaro, pp.173-174. Also Robin Cohen, 'Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness Amongst African Workers', Review of African Political Economy, Vol.19, 1980, p.19

labour coercive nature of the town. The emergence of contradictions specific to the beer hall system after 1909 graphically illustrates this point.

Popular Drunkenness and Contradictions in the Monopoly System

The most coherent grounds upon which the beer monopoly was justified by officials of local administration was its anticipated efficiency in combatting popular drunkenness. Although consciously vaunted as a 'trial system' (57) the monopoly had, according to widely advertised Borough Police figures, reduced drunkenness amongst Africans considerably. In 1907, the percentage of African drunkenness to the total African population was 5.1% By 1914 it had dropped to 1.6% (58) Durban's police and native affairs bureaucracy had little doubt that the Native Beer Act 'had been successful in its operation' and was 'accomplishing the purpose for which it was enacted', an observation 'conclusively proved' by the experience of the previous five and a half years. (59) Numerous reports vindicated the monopoly on the grounds of its having reduced drunkenness. This was not surprising since these were the very grounds which the local state used to facilitate its introduction.

In principle, the municipal N.A.D would have had every reason to manufacture such statistics in order to justify the highly profitable beer monopoly to its temperance

(57) As late as 1917 the monopoly system was still being referred to as a 'trial system'. This was largely in deference to temperance critics who initially supported the municipal beer monopoly on condition that it was introduced on a trial basis. See T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.2, J.S. Marwick to T.C., 16 March 1917.

(58) Report of the Select Committee on the Working of Transvaal Liquor Laws (Rooth Report), S.C. 2-18, p.197. Also see Appendix XVIII.

(59) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt,N, Report of the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee re Native Beer, 14 September 1914.

opponents, and to a literate section of Africans in Durban. T.L. Schreiner, an important anti-monopoly lobbyist and vice-president of the South African Temperance Alliance, encapsulated the nature of the criticism directed against the monopoly system:

The motive for (monopoly) may at the outset be laudable, but the financial interests and profits accruing will in the long-term outweigh every other consideration, especially if these profits claim to be devoted to the public benefit. (60)

The apparent decline in African drunkenness, following the erection of municipal beer halls, should also be seen in terms of a subtle change in the hegemonic definition of reality, particularly with regard to crime. According to this re-definition, the places at which Durban's labourers consumed utshwala after 1909 were the municipal beer halls, where a 'traditional beverage' could be obtained 'under healthy and wholesome conditions'. Clearly, if intoxicated workers were seen to issue from the beer halls at closing time, the system, which by 1915 had forcefully illustrated its economic utility, would be called into question. What emerges from municipal records (but not from police statistics) is continuing popular drunkenness, although not on the pre-1909 scale. After its inception, the municipal beer monopoly began generating new contradictions and problems of social control. By 1914 these contradictions had become acute.

For all the much-vaunted success of monopoly, large employers of labour became increasingly concerned at continuing drunkenness amongst African workers. In 1913 even the Chief Constable became alarmed at sustained popular drunkenness. He stated that workers were frequently in 'a stupid and dazed condition as to be unfit for work', and ascribed this to their having 'unrestricted access to Native beer all day long'. He

(60) Izwe la Kiti, 22 October 1913.

conceded that 'riots, fights and drunken orgies' were a thing of the past, but informed the Town Clerk of considerable dissatisfaction amongst the large employers of Native labour at the hours at which beer was sold in the eating houses.⁽⁶¹⁾ These hours of sale in 1914 were from 10am to 8pm, although, as a rule, the supply of beer was usually arranged so that stock was sold out 'much earlier than 8pm'. By 1915 these complaints were endemic, particularly amongst employers of togt labour. The municipal N.A.D., together with the Borough Police, initially refused to publicly concede that the source of this drunkenness was to be located in the municipal beer halls. Being sensitive to the needs of local capital however, extensive surveillance of the four beer halls was carried out by police detectives and officials of the municipal N.A.D.⁽⁶²⁾ A report of the overseer at the Bell St. barracks suggested that shebeens were the source of this drunkenness. The overseer stated that:

one of Mr Thompson's (an employee of the Associated Stevedoring and Landing Co. of Natal) Indunas named Ndugwana, stationed at the Bluff spoke to me and said that it would be very difficult for him to keep his gang together because if they were refused a second drink they would go out beyond the Umgeni river where there are several natives brewing native beer.⁽⁶³⁾

Employers' grievances concerning the hours at which beer was sold in the Borough, had been met in 1913, by the decision to open beer halls at 10am (as opposed to 8am) and to close the outlets between 2pm and 4pm. In doing so the municipality had opened the doors of shebeens a little wider.

Stevedoring companies were particularly hard-hit by continuing

(61) D.C.L. No.637, C.C. to T.C., 1 April 1913.

(62) T.C.F. Native Beer - Drunkenness, Reports, Analyses, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.J, Police Reports on Observation of Various Eating Houses, August 1915.

(63) T.C.F. Native Beer - Drunkenness, Reports, Analyses, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.J, H.F. Rachmann to municipal N.A.D., 27 July 1915.

drunkenness which they saw as a result of a combination of factors. These were: lax administration of beer halls, illicit liquor dealers who had begun operating off vessels in the harbour and peri-urban shebeens. In a series of communications to the Town Council, the municipal N.A.D. came under increasing criticism for (i) selling beer at inappropriate times, and (ii) inadequate control of workers consuming beer in the beer halls.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The belief that beer halls were inefficiently run also derived support from African workers themselves. When inebriated workers were questioned as to the whereabouts of their liquor supply, they replied: 'the supply is practically unlimited so long as there is money to pay for it'.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Undoubtedly, illicit drink was available in the Borough and in the peri-urban shebeens which flourished beyond the Umgeni River and in Sydenham, to the south (see Map 2). The municipal N.A.D. suggested as much when it claimed that the closing down of some of Durban's beer houses would drive the workforce to the peri-urban shebeens.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Similarly, beer halls were to be kept open on public holidays for fear that 'the native population seek drink elsewhere'. The suggestion by stevedoring companies that beer halls be closed between 4pm and 6pm, was rejected by the municipal N.A.D. since this was when most beer was sold. The final concession to those employers who were most affected by worker drunkenness, was the 'granting of every facility' to indunas to 'round up' certain workers in beer halls in order to ensure

(64) See various correspondence from R.H. Stainbank, Compound Manager for Associated Stevedoring and Loading Co., T.C.F. Native Beer-Drunkenness, Reports, Analyses, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.J, 8 January 1915 to 30 November 1915. Large absenteeism rates due to drunkenness, were reported by compound managers. See for example, P.C. Vaughan to C.C., 26 June 1915.

(65) T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.2, Harbour Engineer to T.C., 25 August 1917. South African Railways and Harbour workers were reportedly 'getting seriously out of hand'.

(66) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, W.Wanless to T.C., 17 August 1915. Wanless recognized the existence of a 'regular illicit liquor trade' in peri-urban areas.

that they arrived at work in a sober state.

The defence of the beer monopoly by the municipal N.A.D. was remorseless and unwavering. Certainly, the contradictions in the system were acknowledged. Serious enquiries were made by the Chairman of the Native Administration Committee⁽⁶⁷⁾ into de-alcoholising utshwala completely. It was hoped that the economic gains of the monopoly could be retained, while the negative effects of alcohol consumption could be avoided through the production of a healthy 'temperance drink'.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The question of wages being spent on beer also exercised the minds of both the police and local administration. In 1913 the Chief Constable noted that:

the amount spent by Natives on this beverage is very large indeed, and any system that would reduce this figure without damaging the present good conduct and contentment of our Native population would be a most desirable innovation. (69)

Again the local state was on the horns of a dilemma which, in terms of the basic premise of the monopoly system, was irresolvable. It has been claimed that the institution of a remittance agency in Durban enabled the payment of taxes in the countryside, and hence, added ballast to a policy of enforced African migrancy.⁽⁷⁰⁾ By 1918 however, J.S. Marwick

(67) For the relationship between the Native Administration Committee and other sections of Municipal Government. See Appendix I.

(68) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, Chairman of the Native Administration Committee to Mr Overbeck (London) 19 August 1915. For a lengthy discussion of utshwala, health and labour see J.M. Orpen, Natives, Drink, Labour (East London, 1913). (Copy in Killie Campbell Library, Durban). Orpen denied that utshwala had any medicinal or dietary value.

(69) D.C.L. No.637, C.C. to T.C., 1 April 1913.

(70) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.136.

observed that the 'gradual disintegration of tribal conditions' as well as 'industrial habits', tended to give an 'element of permanency to the Native urban population'.⁽⁷¹⁾ The fact that municipal beer hall revenue declined during the periods when the Hut Tax was due for payment, throws useful light on Marwick's observation.⁽⁷²⁾ It was precisely over the question of workers spending wages on beer, rather than remitting cash to homesteads in Natal's countryside, that the first formal African opposition to Durban's municipal beer halls was expressed.

Early African Opposition to Durban's Municipal Beer Halls

Early expressions of popular resistance to the municipalisation of beer production in Durban reflected the lived experience of the majority of Africans in a generally labour coercive environment. While the experience of urban living conditions by Africans became increasingly sustained over time, it cannot be said, except of a small section of the population, that town life constituted the taproot of African popular experience. For this reason, expressions of popular opposition to the marginalisation and modifications of African beer brewing and consumption tended to be couched in contradictory and "backward-looking" terms.

In 1913 soon after the large, sophisticated municipal brewery began operating, a dramatic decrease in the consumption of municipal beer was noted. According to official reports, the beer brewed at the plant was 'so bad as to be undrinkable'.⁽⁷³⁾ The novel brewing procedure was responsible for producing thousands of gallons of foul beer which many African workers flatly refused to drink. Beer revenue for the year following the introduction of the plant plummeted.

(71) J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns, p.1

(72) D.C.L. No.641, C.C. to T.C., 3 June 1913.

(73) D.M.C. Vol.499, File 4/174/1914, Native Beer, H. Robb, C.I.D. to C.M., 17 February 1914.

unexpectedly from £25 033 in 1913 to £18 656 in 1914.

Whether this partial boycott of municipal beer was due to the brewing of beer by machinery, the production of foul beer or growing opposition to the municipal monopoly, is hard to gauge. It was probably a combination of all these factors. The municipal N.A.D. noted that:

The Natives seem to have an aversion to the production of Native Beer by machinery, and on this account I find certain rumours have raised the superstitious prejudice of the Natives, and this has had much to do with regard to the lessened consumption. (74)

This eschewing of unpalatable beer, probably in favour of the shebeen, is suggestive of a popular response rooted in a 'traditional' or 'inherent' way of viewing the world, contradictory and compounded of folklore and day-to-day popular experience. At the same time as this informal boycott of municipal beer and no doubt drawing impetus from it, came the first organised opposition to the beer monopoly.

The first formally organised and articulated resistance to the municipal beer monopoly emanated from the African Branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) in 1914. A deputation of African women presented a petition, signed by 'four thousand native women' and 'procured through native effort entirely', to the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee. (75) The Deputation was introduced by Mrs. J.R. Cameron of the Union and led by Mrs Ncamu, head of the Women's Branch of the W.C.T.U. The main grievances presented in the petition can be outlined as follows: firstly, families

(74) D.C.L. No.652, Manager, municipal N.A.D. to Town Council, 3 February 1914. White commercial brewers were keenly aware that Africans were 'extremely critical' of the quality of utshwala. Meticulous brewing was thus regarded as essential. See D.C.L. No.578, Head Brewer, South African Breweries to Natal Brewery, 23 September 1908.

(75) For the relationship between the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee and other sections of municipal government, see Appendix I.

in the countryside were living in a 'grievous condition' because husbands and sons working in Durban were spending their wages on beer, and hence, failed to remit adequate sums of money to their families. Secondly, homes were being broken up and families abandoned. Thirdly, Africans who were not accustomed to beer drinking in the countryside had learned to drink in Durban, 'supposing it to be a good and respectable thing' because it was sold by the Durban Corporation. The petition called for the abolition of the municipal beer monopoly, the substitution of amasi (thick sour milk) for utshwala in eating houses and the purchase of cows from accumulated beer revenue. (76)

Clearly these protests encompassed the wider and more important reality of town and countryside. The women's protest spoke of rural impoverishment and proletarianisation on the land. Only one year earlier the punishing Natives Land Act had been passed. However, differentiating this protest from the "spontaneous" boycott of foul beer in 1913, was the more formal character of the W.C.T.U. petition. Couched in terms of contemporary dominant mission ideology and articulated by women who were mainly kholwa, (77) the protest presented an illuminating interface between a rural-based protest embedded firmly in "traditional" notions of the meaning of beer brewing, and the rejection of a particular form of urban control. The connections which the protest drew between the municipal monopoly and the removal of part of the workforce's means of subsistence, comprised its most

(76) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, Statement of a Deputation of the Native Branch of the W.C.T.U., 14 September 1914.

(77) In 1913 Mrs Cameron of the W.C.T.U. had claimed in the pages of Ilanga lase Natal that: 'the larger proportion of wages earned were being spent at Corporation Beer Shops'. She appealed for letters of support which 'would open the eyes of the European public to this evil'. John Dube, the editor, called for 'educated people' to take up the issue. Ilanga lase Natal, 5 September 1913.

progressive element. Whether this connection could provide the basis for a more organised form of opposition to the monopoly system was to depend upon the economic, political, cultural and ideological state of struggle between rulers and ruled in the town.

Between 1915 and 1918 there were intermittent calls for the dismantling of the beer monopoly. These protests stemmed predominantly from African mission bodies. In 1915, for example, a meeting of Africans from mission reserves connected with the American Zulu Mission was held in Durban to protest against increasing African drunkenness, especially amongst youths. A resolution was passed calling for the repeal of the beer monopoly. Once again the dominant thread of the protest was the assertion that 'wages do not reach the old people at home'. (78)

Natal's Chief Native Commissioner, reporting on the meeting, commented :

On my asking the assembled Natives into whose hands the sale of beer should be placed if it were taken out of those of the corporation, they replied that they did not wish it to be placed in anyone else's hands. They wanted the sale of beer altogether prohibited. (79)

By 1918 these voices of protest, which affirmed the connections between impoverishment in Natal's rural areas and the municipalisation of utshwala, were being heard at the annual Natal Missionary Conference. (80)

(78) T.C.F. Native Beer - Drunkenness, Reports, Analyses, Vol. 48, File 91, jkt.J, Resolution Passed at a Meeting of Natives from the Mission Reserves, Durban, 26 July 1915.

(79) T.C.F. Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.N, C.N.C. to T.C. 26 August 1915. Thomas Searle, a member of the South African Temperance Alliance, called for total prohibition at a Congregational Church Congress in Durban in 1915.

(80) T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkt.2, J.S. Marwick to Rev. Cragg, 14 August 1918.

These protests tend to disguise an underlying anxiety shared by Natal's ruling classes as a whole, concerning the development of permanent African urbanisation. Liberal segregationist ideology found some degree of expression in Natal's aspirant rural and urban-based African petty bourgeoisie, who were nurtured in a milieu which imbued a sense of optimism about "progress" and "individual improvement". The frequent reference to the essential foreignness of the 'beer-drinking habit' and 'demoralisation' amongst Africans, was the obverse expression of fears of the disintegration of "traditional" social relations in the countryside.

Although most of the formal opposition to the beer halls between 1909 and 1918 was deeply rooted in a rural consciousness, there was at least one more self-consciously urban protest against the beer monopoly. In 1916, Skweletl Nyongwana, an early Natal Native Congress member and sometime editor of Ilanga lase Natal, stated that :

.. instead of the Corporation selling beer the brewery should be floated into a company in which the natives could take up shares ... Today the natives do not control the profits. The natives would like the money from their beer house(s) to be used for the building of native cottages ... so that in the course of time a native could acquire his own cottage ... If the money had been wisely spent I think the native would have more trust in the management of the council. (81)

Nyongwana's keen understanding of the beer monopoly as a source of exploitation was generally shared by Durban's small African petty bourgeoisie. They also shared the frustration which runs through his statement on the monopoly system. While members of this petty bourgeoisie had escaped the rigours of wage labour through becoming traders, clergymen or teachers, their social and economic aspirations remained generally frustrated. Nyongwana's perception of the disguised

(81) Report of Deputation sent to Durban by Municipal Council of Johannesburg, p.24.

exploitation of the beer monopoly foreshadows those protests of the late twenties which threatened to undermine the monopoly system entirely.

The Durban System and African Housing: The Establishment of Baumannville and the Refining of Urban Control

In 1917, Durban's African population was estimated at over 20 000. Although there are no reliable figures reflecting the size of the African female population, some indication of their numbers is provided by the figures for five-day passes issued for the year ending in July 1917. During this period over 27 080 passes were issued to women and a conservative estimate put the number of permanent African female residents of Durban at 2 500.⁽⁸²⁾ Since their labour was limited either to being washerwomen or domestic servants, their energies were often channelled into illicit beer brewing or prostitution. The Brickhill Road area (see Map 1) was particularly noted for its large population of African female 'vagrants' of 'loose and immoral character', who thrived in an area where drinking 'was rife'. The Manager of Depot Road location noted that 'raw native girls remain permanently in the Borough', while the Chief Constable anxiously noted the growth of a class of 'semi-civilized native girls' recruiting 'waifs and strays' who had 'shaken off parental control'.⁽⁸³⁾

One police report, in describing the stable and backyard dwellings which housed over one third of Durban's African population, inadvertently sketched some of the ways in which desolate and squalid conditions of existence were made habitable by ordinary African people. Living quarters comprised a network of stables and other buildings which were damp and void of light. However, food and liquor was freely available, and the buildings housed 'sisters, mothers and sweethearts';

(82) Mayor's Minute, 1917, p.15.

(83) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 1 June 1915.

so that it was a 'difficult matter' for the police to 'know who was who'. Both married and unmarried women were clearly living with male workers. Some women were obviously not employed in the formal sector while others were involved in washing clothes. By 1918, African washerwomen had all but disappeared. More 'respectable elements', such as teachers, slept alongside the labouring poor. Most of the males were employed as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers by merchants, while a few were also clerks in lawyers' offices. (84) The Borough Police suggested invoking Section 289 of the old Native Law or the formulation of new bye-laws in order to deal with this kind of 'immorality'. An illuminating observation on the hegemonic definition of morality was the presence in Durban, at this time, of at least eight municipally-sanctioned and police controlled brothels. These served the white population of the town. (85)

Similar expressions of a lived existence that was undifferentiated and equally 'immoral', could also be found in the privately-owned barracks of employers. One 'wealthy merchant' W. Butcher, accommodated over 120 workers in private barracks in the centre of Durban. These barracks were described as a 'living hell'. From early in the morning until late at night, 'dancing, chanting, whooping ... punctuated with blasts from weird instruments', could be heard by white residents in this area. (86) The hundreds of privately licensed or unlicensed quarters, such as the ricksha pullers' sheds in Palmer Street and the stables in Gale Street, were viewed by the Borough Police and white residents as centres of 'undesirable and dangerous elements'. Perhaps white fears of the 'turbulence of the native labourer' can be

(84) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt,1, P.C. Noble to T.C., 26 May 1915.

(85) Natal Archives, Minutes of the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee (hereafter N.A.P.F.B. Committee), Book 1, 6 November 1916.

(86) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.1, A. Buckman to Councillor Hay, February 1917.

usefully related to fears amongst the English ruling classes of the danger of the casual labourers, often of Irish extraction, in Victorian England.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The fear of imminent riot was never far below the surface when Durban's white bourgeoisie peered into the living quarters of ordinary African people. Only the myopic could fail to recognise the physical proximity of Africans and whites in the town. Indeed, over one-third of white households were renting or letting rooms to Africans.

Despite the erection of hostels and barracks with beer revenue, by 1917 the existing shortage of municipal accommodation for African workers was exacerbated by increasing African urbanisation. Durban's Town Clerk articulated the heightening anxiety of whites in the town in relation both to this growing urban influx and the 'turbulent nature of the native'. He continued to question:

whether it was altogether wise to have them (labourers) all together in one barracks, or whether, in the event of a number getting out of hand they would not be better controlled by having location areas continued, as at present, in various parts of the Borough. (88)

Migrant workers in Durban, pressed by rural poverty and low wages, were becoming increasingly militant. This militancy was to result in a series of strikes between 1917 and 1919.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The response of the local state to increasing urbanisation and worker militancy was in keeping with the more general policy of the central state. Attempts were made to limit the size of the African population to the labour needs of the town through the enforcement of strict influx control measures, which aimed at removing 'undesirables' from the town.

(87) See Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London (London, 1971), pp.10-15, pp.281-314 and pp.348-9.

(88) Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, Book 1, 23 January 1917.

(89) See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.161-191.

This policy operated particularly harshly against African women. In official terms the status of African women was clear. If they wore European clothes they were prostitutes and had no right to be in Durban.⁽⁹⁰⁾ A further section of the African population which bore the brunt of police action were those Africans who were marginalised or had no visible means of subsistence. Between 1916 and 1918 a marked increase in vagrancy, drunkenness (particularly amongst African women), crimes against property and amalaita activities were reported.⁽⁹¹⁾ In 1916 the Chief Magistrate noted that amalaita activities were 'getting too frequent' and stated that they would not be tolerated.⁽⁹²⁾ Percy Binns ordered lashes as punishment for these youths, who, armed with sticks, mouth organs and decorated with the umshokobezi (a colourful headgear widely used by rebels during the Bambatha rebellion),⁽⁹³⁾ caused increasing unease in the eyes of white authority. In one court case, nineteen youths whose average age was eighteen, were charged with 'maliciously congregating, disturbing the peace and being armed with sticks'.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The Chief Constable pushed for an amendment to Bye-law No.71 which dealt with stick-carrying by Africans. By 1920 Africans were prohibited from carrying a wide range of weapons and sticks.⁽⁹⁵⁾

(90) See p.87 above.

(91) See Appendix XVIII.

(92) D.M.C. Vol.506, File 4/14/1037/16, Native Matters, C.M. to C.N.C., 14 September 1916; also Natal Mercury, 15 March 1916.

(93) See Shula Marks, Reluctant Rebellion (London, 1970), p.252, p.309.

(94) Natal Archives, Durban Criminal Records, D. Court, 1910-1949, Case heard 3 January 1916.

(95) T.C.F. Lieta Gangs - Reports, Bye-Laws, Vol.110, File 605, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 15 March 1916; also T.C.F. Natives Carrying Sticks, Vol.103, File 467B, J.S. Marwick to T.C., 20 November 1919. Africans were prohibited from carrying knobkieries (iwisa), heavy fighting sticks (iskhwili) and the light fighting stick (umshiza), amongst others.

The growing opposition of Africans to social control provided the context for the implementation, by the local state, of a two-pronged strategy to refine and hone the management and control of Africans. The first of these strategies was to cultivate existing social distinctions within Durban's popular classes in order to divide Africans as a whole. For example, the Borough Police refused educated Africans (kholwa) entry into their ranks. The Chief Constable claimed that he feared:

the educated Native would not cooperate loyally with his brother from the Kraal and I also doubt if he would render the public the same loyal and patient service that is at present attained by our Kraal policemen. (96)

In J.S. Marwick's Native Administration Department, African interpreters and assistants were usually uneducated 'Kraal' Africans. The most well-known of these men was Pika Zulu, who was closely connected with the Zulu Royal Family. This overt attempt to further divide the African population along existing lines of internal stratification, bears comparison with van Onselen's study of collaborators in the Rhodesian mining industry. (97)

At the level of African housing this distinction was carried through even more rigorously. At the Women's Hostel in Brook Street, assiduous attempts were made to keep 'Kraal' and kholwa women in different sections of the Hostel. This policy of divide and rule found its clearest expression in the manner in which prospective residents for Baumannville were screened. The prerequisites for living in the village were strict: only those who had been married by Christian rites, and whose bona fides could be established by the municipal N.A.D., were permitted entrance. J.S. Marwick, who had noted that three signs of Christianity were clothes,

(96) D.C.L. No.636, C.C. to T.C., March 1913. John Dube claimed that he was 'highly pleased with the Native Police'.

(97) cf. Charles van Onselen, 'The Role of Collaborators in the Rhodesian Mining Industry 1900-1935', African Affairs, Vol.72, No.289, 1973, pp.401-418.

houses and work, (98) asserted that:

... no tenants are admitted except those of approved good character, and the result has been that there are no signs of the customary untidiness and neglect which characterises most location dwellings. If the present standard of respectability can be maintained the best elements among the Native community will eventually be drawn into the location scheme. (99)

The village attracted teachers, clerks, interpreters and traders out of informal, socially-undifferentiated dwellings. (100) These petty and aspirant petty bourgeois Africans could afford to pay a monthly rental of 15s. Africans in the village occupied an uneasy and fluid position within relations of dominance and subordination in the town. Potentially they could, along with Durban's African petty and aspirant bourgeoisie, act as a buffer between the dominant classes and the majority of labouring Africans. Or, on the other hand, they could provide the leadership for more coherent opposition to urban control and exploitation. How far they would proceed either way, depended upon economic, political and ideological struggle. These struggles, and hence the changing composition and position of a loosely-defined African petty bourgeoisie, can only be fully grasped if studied in their historical specificity. (101)

The ill-defined position of Durban's amakholwa in relation

(98) J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns, p.4

(99) T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.36, File 49, jkt.2, Report of J.S. Marwick, 22 November 1921.

(100) See Natal Regional Survey, Report No.6, Baumannville (Cape Town, 1959), p.3.

(101) One comparative outstanding piece of research which provides some useful insights into how a more thorough-going study of this kind might be conducted, is to be found in P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920: the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand'.

to both the mass of workers and the local state, was thrown into relief by the struggle between two kholwa-dominated organisations. Both claimed to be popular representatives of the town's labouring classes. In 1912, the Iso lo Muzi (Native Vigilance Committee) emerged in Durban under the leadership of Rev. C.C. Nyawo. It claimed to represent all Durban's African population, perhaps fearing the influence which the newly formed S.A.N.N.C. might have in Durban.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The municipal N.A.D. reported that the Natal Native Congress (N.N.C.) represented the 'largest portion of the Native population', while the Wesleyan Minister, Rev. Nyawo, had the support of 'a few of the better class natives'.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Between 1912 and 1916 the N.N.C. and the Iso lo Muzi sought to have their respective organisations declared the authentic voice of Durban's popular classes. Part of this struggle can be seen in the boycott of the Depot Road location when it was initially opened in 1915. In its first year of existence only 64 out of a potential 624 occupants could be found for the location. According to the municipal N.A.D. this was, as in the case of the earlier informal beer boycott, due to 'native superstition'. However, another suggestion was outlined in a report which claimed that the President of the S.A.N.N.C., John Dube, had organised a boycott of the location because he had 'not been invited to speak at the opening ceremony'.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The impact of the boycott is indicated by the revenue accruing from lodging fees. In 1915 the revenue amounted to £77; by 1917 it has risen to £1 625.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The issues which the Iso lo Muzi took up, related not to

(102) D.C.L. No.635, C.C. Nyawo to T.C., 19 September 1912.

(103) T.C.F. Native Savings Bank, Vol.70, File 167, Wanless to T.C., 13 April 1915. For the formation, constitution and activities of the N.N.C. see Shula Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp.69-73, pp.358-63.

(104) T.C.F. Native Savings Bank, Vol.70, File 167, Wanless to T.C., 13 April 1915.

(105) Mayor's Minute, 1915, p.lxvii; and Mayor's Minute, 1917, p.155.

grassroots popular grievances, but rather to Durban's African middle and aspirant middle classes. Better accommodation for Christian Africans, the needs of traders at municipal eating houses, and education were the main issues around which the organization mobilised. Emulating the moral, educational and intellectual categories of the white ruling classes, the Iso lo Muzi always claimed to speak for 'the most enlightened and influential Natives residing in Durban'. (106)

John Dube and the N.N.C. expressed concerns very similar to those of the Iso lo Muzi. In 1915, a resolution of the S.A.N.N.C. called for African rights to decent boarding houses, the right to purchase building sites, civil service jobs for the amakholwa and the extension of trading rights. (107) When, in 1916, the Durban Native Council was formed to represent the opinion and grievances of Africans in Durban, over half its membership comprised N.N.C. men. (108) J.S. Marwick, fearing that the N.N.C. was about to take over the Council, spoke of the 'crazy and demagogic ideas' of what had been called by the Government Native Affairs Department, the 'New Movement amongst the Natives'. (109) On numerous occasions John Dube was refused permission to hold meetings despite his praise for the Monarchy and his deferment of important political issues because of the war effort. (110) The municipal N.A.D. refused to give the Durban Native Council official or even semi-official status, and regarded the N.N.C.

(106) T.C.F. Supply of Native Brewery, Vol.54, File 110, C.C. Nyawo to T.C., 9 October 1914.

(107) T.C.F. Supply of Native Brewery, Vol.54, File 110, Resolutions Passed by the S.A.N.N.C., 3 August 1915.

(108) See Appendix V for the membership of the Durban Native Council.

(109) For Marwick's view see J.S. Marwick, The Natives in the Larger Towns, p.12; also Report of the Native Affairs Department for the year ended 31 December 1912, U.G. 33 - '13, p.65.

(110) Ilanga lase Natal, 25 September 1916.

with uniform suspicion. (111)

Durban's African petty bourgeoisie was also viewed with grave doubts by the people whom they frequently claimed to represent. In 1917, John Dube suggested as much when he said to an African audience: 'You natives, whenever I exhort you to unite so that we can answer the white man, you say that I wish to eat up your money'. (112) While the local state in Durban was consistent in its repression of petty bourgeois and aspirant petty bourgeois Africans, it did see the need to separate this social stratum geographically from the majority of African workers. A member of the Town Council put the issue succinctly when he commented on the desirability of providing 'separate accommodation for the superior - or Amakholwa - class of Native'. (113) This suggests the dawning recognition after 1915, of the value of co-opting the kholwa as a bulwark against a growing tide of urban popular militancy. Prior to the 1920's, this idea was apparently foreign to most white administrators, with the exception of G.H. Heaton-Nicholls. (114)

The second aspect of the local state's strategy to refine urban administration and control after the introduction of the beer monopoly, was to promulgate new Native Affairs Bye-Laws in 1916. The regulations were introduced in 1917 and laid down precise procedures for work registration, passes and contracts of service. Workers were required to report for

(111) Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, Book 1, 6 November 1916. Marwick stated that the Council would have to regard itself as 'subject of the Manager of the municipal N.A.D.'

(112) See T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt. 1, memorandum of Native Affairs Committee, 5 March 1917.

(113) Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, Book 2, 12 April 1917.

(114) For a useful discussion of these themes see Shula Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.4, No.2, 1978, pp.172-193. By the late twenties, the relationship of the N.N.C. vis-à-vis the local state, had changed significantly. See Chapters 4 and 5 below.

a medical examination and submit to vaccinations. A curfew was established between 9pm (soon after the beer halls closed) and 5am, and evidence of registration had to be produced on demand, under threat of arrest. The registration office possessed a list of all miscreants, while penalties for contraventions of the law were particularly harsh. Togt workers faced the brunt of these penal measures. Transgression of the bye-laws could be punished with three months imprisonment and hard labour, as well as a fine of £10. (115) In short, the bye-laws of 1916 embodied a series of coercive measures which were designed to regulate workers' lives and supply employers with a submissive and low-paid workforce.

In July of the following year the Town Council reported that the:

registration of 25 000 Natives in the Borough was effected with a minimum of inconvenience to the employers; there has been no disturbance of Native labour conditions and no diminution in the steady stream of arrivals from the country districts .. the registration of all Natives has resulted in the departure ... of a large class of undesirables ... records (are) of assistance in distinguishing the respectable Natives from ... the habitually idle and suspicious class. (116)

Although the reality was somewhat more complex than this report allowed for, (117) the local state in Durban had implemented a system of urban control and administration which increasingly drew the concentrated attention of other local authorities and the government Native Affairs Department. This specific form of native administration, by 1918 referred to as the 'Durban system', would have been inconceivable without the popular consumption of a pale, pink liquid called utshwala.

(115) See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.140-41.

(116) Mayor's Minute, 1917, p.15.

(117) For example, in 1917 over three hundred workers who had been engaged in togt work, but who had avoided registration for many years, were 'unearthed' by the Borough Police. See Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, Book 1, 23 January 1917.

CHAPTER THREE

CENTRALISING URBAN CONTROL: DURBAN, THE URBAN AREAS ACT AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF CONTROL, 1918-1928.

I regard the system as carried out in Durban as ideal if you are going to supply liquor to the natives ... The conditions in Durban are unique ... because we have a very law-abiding set of Zulus to deal with there.

(Dr. J. McCord before the Select Committee on Native Affairs, 26 February 1923)

... in the opinion of this meeting Municipal Kaffir Beer Canteens should be boycotted for many apparent reasons and the help of temperance societies be sought with the view to move the Government to repeal the Kaffir Beer Act of 1908.

(Resolution of the Natal Native Congress, 17 March 1926)

The post-1918 period in South Africa ushered in an era of steep price rises and inflation. The expansion of manufacturing industry, particularly noticeable on the Witwatersrand, was similarly evident in Durban during the period 1917 to 1918.⁽¹⁾ An accelerated migration of Africans to Durban became noticeable: in 1918 the African population of Durban was estimated at over 20 000, by 1921 it has risen to 29 011.⁽²⁾ Proletarianisation was undoubtedly continuing at an accelerated pace, particularly within Natal's reserve areas. With continuing impoverishment in rural areas, larger numbers of African families migrated to Durban to settle in the town or in peri-urban areas on a permanent basis. In 1919 a cursory survey of the Borough and peri-urban areas revealed

(1) See Report on Industries in Durban 1915/16 - 1922/23, Office of Census and Statistics, Special Report No.28, Pretoria, 1924.

(2) Natal Regional Survey, The Durban Housing Survey, Department of Economics, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1952), p.35

bore the brunt of the imposition of the hut tax in the reserves. In 1918, this tax was increased from 14s. to 19s. and a dipping tax of 5s. remained in force.⁽⁵⁾

The extent of this early labour unrest in Durban suggests a self-conscious recognition on the part of African workers of their position within relations of exploitation.⁽⁶⁾ An index of the economic hardship experienced by Durban's predominantly migrant labour force is provided by a strike of African municipal policemen in 1920. One sergeant protested that policemen's money :

... was not sufficient to make ends meet at their kraals. A bag of mealies cost £2 and a blanket cost 30/- . Their tax was 19/- ... their rent to the farmers was from 30/- to £2. Some of them had large families and could not get food for them. Their present wages (indunas) were £2-17-0 plus uniforms, food and quarters.

Constables reported that 'their families were leaving the kraals through starvation' and that their wives 'applied to the Courts of their homes and complained that they did not send money home'.⁽⁷⁾ Interrogation by white officials of the municipal N.A.D. revealed that these men had worked for many years in Durban. During seasonal breaks they returned to desperate living conditions in Natal's countryside. Rural impoverishment impelled greater numbers of Africans to seek work in Durban. This demographic movement had important implications for the reproduction of a cheap African workforce in the town. Reporting at a national level in 1921,

(5) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.177.

(6) For a discussion of the 1917-1920 strikes in Durban see Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.166-191. For contemporary correspondence and accounts of these strikes see D.M.C. Native Agitation, Vol.511. This volume represents a previously untapped source on the post-war strikes; also see Ilanga lase Natal for the years 1917-20.

(7) Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, Book 2, 1 December 1919.

the Native Affairs Commission stated that:

The problems have become more acute of recent years by reason of the rapid growth of our industrial cities, in which the provision of housing and control of the Natives engaged in industry, commerce and domestic service has not kept pace with the growth of the Native population and by the development of the urban Natives themselves, who are requiring and demanding not only considerably improved living conditions, but who, with their wives and children, are becoming permanent dwellers in the cities and are rapidly adopting the European's method of city life. (8)

While this process was assuming its most stark form on the Rand, Durban itself would seem to provide a similar picture. Although African urbanisation increased markedly during the twenties, migrancy remained a dominant feature of Durban's African workforce. The numbers of five-day permits issued to workseekers and 'visitors' during the early twenties indicates this fact. (9)

Table 4 Number of African workseekers and visitors, Durban, 1919 to 1922.

	<u>1919-20</u>	<u>1920-21</u>	<u>1921-22</u>
Males visiting Durban	20 377	24 206	24 681
Females visiting Durban	23 569	25 171	30 038
Africans seeking work	29 910	27 526	31 639

In 1921, ninety-one percent of Africans were of working age (that is, between fifteen and fifty years of age).⁽¹⁰⁾ The 1921 Census revealed that Durban's African female population had risen from just over 1 000 in 1911 to 3 313 in 1921 (an

(8) Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1921, U.G. 15-'22, p.25

(9) Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Native Affairs, S.C.3-23, Evidence of C.F. Layman, p.131.

(10) G.E. Stent, 'Migrancy and Urbanisation in the Union of South Africa', Journal of the International African Institute, Vol.18, No.3, July 1948, p.173.

increase of 184 percent). The male population, during the same period, had increased from 18 179 to 34 217 (an increase of 88.22 percent). While the male to female ratio remained firmly weighted on the side of males, the African female population was steadily rising in Durban. Most of these women settled in the suburbs surrounding Durban, where, between 1911 and 1921 the percentage increase of the African female population was often as high as 200 percent. ⁽¹¹⁾

This rapid increase in the size of Durban's African population manifested itself most graphically in terms of an acute housing shortage. Municipal barracks and hostels could accommodate less than a third of Durban's African labouring population. The remainder lived either in unlicensed accommodation - backyards, rooms obtained from Indian landlords or rooms provided by employers of domestic servants. The Report of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa in 1922 voiced its disapproval of the conditions under which many Africans were living in the town. ⁽¹²⁾ Exorbitant rents of between 8s. and 37s-6d. per month were being charged by Indian rackrenters who owned premises throughout the town. 'Respectable Native families' were reportedly sharing single rooms in these grossly overcrowded and insanitary premises. ⁽¹³⁾ Not only did this form of informal housing deprive the municipality of revenue, it also undermined the control of Africans in the town. Although African communities living in private unlicensed premises were liable to prosecution

(11) See Report on the Third Census of the Population of the Union, 3rd May, 1921, Part I; Population (all Races), U.G. 15-'23, p.63. These figures include those living in Durban's Surrounding Suburbs. Official statistics relating to the number of African women in urban centres were conservative estimates since African women in Durban tended to evade official censuses.

(12) See the Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth General Missionary Conference of South African Held at Durban 18 to 22nd July, 1921, Durban, 1922, pp.73-95.

(13) Fifth General Missionary Conference, p.74

in terms of municipal bye-laws, these sanctions could not be enforced because of the housing shortage.

The Missionary Conference Report held that privately-owned barracks were: 'dark, insanitary, without ventilation and absolute cesspools of disease and evils of every kind'.⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1921, there were over 101 privately-licensed barracks in Durban. Each barrack housed not less than ten men and in total they accommodated some 5 700 African workers.⁽¹⁵⁾

Prostitution, sodomy, and illicit liquor also found accommodation in these barracks. The majority of the roughly 6 400 dock and railway workers found accommodation in municipal barracks. Over 1800 ricksha pullers were housed in privately-licensed barracks and an estimated 8 944 domestic servants working in Durban, of whom 1 354 were women, lodged in employers' backyards. However, it is likely that well over 15 000 Africans were without any formally-recognized accommodation.⁽¹⁶⁾

In response to the large-scale influx of Africans into Durban, an extensive building programme, geared towards solving the acute housing shortage, was launched in the early part of 1921. Additional accommodation at the Depot Road location provided quarters for over 500 men, at a cost of £23 000 to the Native Administration Fund. A small section was also added to the location in order to accommodate the wives of workers who were 'visiting' Durban. A further twenty-four cottages were built at Baumannville bringing the total number of families in the village to sixty. By 1925, a new African women's hostel had been erected in Grey Street (See Map 1) at a cost of £12 000. A school providing for the education of three hundred pupils was erected at the Depot Road location

(14) Fifth General Missionary Conference, p.76

(15) Mayor's Minute, 1922, p.130.

(16) This figure is a rough estimate. For a breakdown of African occupations in Durban and surrounding areas see Fifth General Missionary Conference, p.77; and also Appendix VI.

at a cost of £5 000. This was the first noticeable attempt to channel profits from the beer monopoly into an area other than that of African housing. (17)

The gradual levelling off of the African male-female sex ratio in Durban pointed to the tendency toward a more stable and mature urban population with a greater degree of family life, and also to the relative declining importance of migrant labour. (18) The moves by the local state to provide additional accommodation, at a high cost to the Native Administration Fund, represented one strategy of containing urban militancy and securing a well-coerced and cheap supply of African labour for employers. As was noted in 1922 by Durban's Mayor:

There can be no supervision over the mode of living of natives in the meanest quarters where so much demoralisation takes place. With no attempt at sanitary cleanliness, conditions prevalent with degradation are manifest, and the question of control assumes alarming proportions as time goes on. (19)

Whilst well-controlled municipal accommodation was one way of securing those conditions which ensured the availability and willingness of workers to perform productive tasks, clearly other mechanisms of control were necessary.

The Native Affairs Bye-laws of 1917 laid down the compulsory medical examination and vaccination of all African work seekers. Failure on the part of workers to endure this procedure could result in arrest and imprisonment. Compulsory medical examination represented another dimension of a labour coercive

(17) Although not comprehensive in detailing the expenditure of beer profits by the Durban municipality, Appendix X gives an indication of the limited nature of welfare spending and points to the 'vast amount' (Rooth Report, p.xxix) of money spent on housing and beer halls.

(18) See Gavin Maasdorp and A.S.B. Humphreys (eds.), From Shantytown to Township (Cape Town, 1975), p.10.

(19) Mayor's Minute, 1923, p.11.

system designed to yield a submissive and sufficiently low paid work-force into the hands of employers. The "sanitation syndrome", never far below the surface of the ideological discourse of the local ruling classes in Durban, was translated into a specific practice aimed at controlling and rationalizing the supply of labour to employers. Since obtaining a clean bill of health was a prerequisite for employment, the compulsory medical examination of prospective workers served as an ancillary mechanism of influx control. It assisted in the allocation of labour and limited the number of Africans in the town who had 'no visible means of subsistence'. Figures prised from various Town Clerk's files reveal the large number of workers who submitted to examination. (20)

Table 5 African Males medically examined, 1919 to 1922.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Numbers examined</u>	<u>vaccinated</u>
January to December 1919	33 605	8 170
July 1920 to July 1921	46 000	11 482
January 1921 to June 1922	72 808	?

The emergence in the early twenties of compulsory medical examination of African women, specifically for venereal disease, can be related to the noticeable increase in the influx of African women into Durban.

In 1920, moves to introduce the compulsory medical examination of women were made on the basis that African women were seen to be the main carriers of V.D. Dr.Dodd, Durban's Medical Officer of Health claimed:

... it is my belief that the only scheme that could stop the spread of venereal diseases amongst Natives is a systematic and periodical examination of all the

(20) See various correspondence in T.C.F. Draft Bye-laws, Registration of Natives, Vol.99, File 359A, jkt.3, August 1920-November 1924; also Mayor's Minute, 1922, p.156.

Natives sojourning in Durban. (21)

However, the M.O.H. realized that such a step would constitute 'gross immorality'. E. Barnett, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was concerned about such a move:

... having regard to the present state of native feeling, it would be extremely impolitic to require native women to submit to a medical examination ... The Durban Municipality derive a large revenue from the Natives ... They might popularize European medical treatment in this way (by appointing a woman doctor) which their present proposal will not do. (22)

African resistance to, and official reservation about, the medical examination of women resulted in the ultimate failure of these measures. (23) Meanwhile, the medical examination of males continued. Then, in November 1923, a process called 'deverminisation', generally referred to as 'dipping', was instituted under the Public Health Act of 1919 and Sections 14 and 16 of the Typhus Regulations of 1920. (24)

Without the revenue accruing to the Native Administration Fund from the sale of municipal beer, the medical examination of Africans would not have been able to continue efficiently. As with the policing of the town and the running of the municipal N.A.D., the process of medical examination was funded by the increasingly massive revenue derived from Durban's beer halls. This point was unambiguously drawn.

(21) T.C.F. Draft Bye-laws-Registration of Natives, Vol.99, File 359A, jkt.3, Extract from the Minutes of the Town Council, 14 November 1920.

(22) T.C.F. Draft Bye-laws-Registration of Natives, Vol.99, File 359A, jkt.3, S.N.A. to Secretary of Public Health, 6 January 1921. Dodd had been examining African males for V.D. although this was strictly illegal.

(23) For useful work on the compulsory medical examination of African women in Durban see Jane Mackenzie, 'Influx Control, Health Regulation and African women in Durban c. 1917-1949', unpublished paper presented at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1982.

(24) See pp.144-8 below.

out by the Town Clerk who asserted that the revenue derived from the beer monopoly 'reimbursed the Corporation' for 'any expenses involved' in the administration of Durban's African population.⁽²⁵⁾ Certainly, the revenue derived from beer sales between July 1921 and July 1929 provides no evidence to the contrary.⁽²⁶⁾

So great was the revenue from the monopoly that monies which were paid into the Native Administration Fund obviated the need for white taxpayers to subsidise native administration in the town. The Tuberculosis Commission had noted this state of affairs as early as 1914 and suggested that the Durban system be implemented throughout South Africa.⁽²⁷⁾ When attempts were made to centralise state urban policy in the early twenties, the central government was to endorse these early observations by taking into close account Durban's experience of urban management and control.

Durban and the Passage of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

The urban areas policy of the first Union government has been described as "tentatively segregationist".⁽²⁸⁾ In response to the resistance to passes, notably amongst African women

(25) T.C.F. Draft Bye-laws-Registration of Natives, Vol.99, File 359A, jkt.3, T.C. to T.C., Salisbury, 26 January 1921.

(26) See Appendix X.

(27) See Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, U.G.34-1914, para.199, pp.105-06.

(28) T.R.H. Davenport, 'African Townsmen? South African Natives (Urban Areas) Legislation through the years', African Affairs, Vol.68, No.3, 1969, p.98. A departmentally drafted Bill in 1912 dealing with urban policy was never published and the Land Act of 1913 did not apply to urban areas. The 1918 Urban Areas Bill represented an attempt to bolster the rights of an African petty bourgeoisie and to devolve responsibility for native administration to local authorities. Up until 1923 no coherent state urban policy had been formulated.

in the Orange Free State between 1913 and 1914, as well as amongst Africans in Johannesburg during 1919, an inter-departmental committee under Lt. Col. G.A. Godley was established to examine African grievances.⁽²⁹⁾ The Committee recommended the repeal of existing pass laws and the institution of 'registration certificates' for all males over eighteen years of age. It further recommended that no pass fee should be payable by Africans and that local authorities should be prohibited from requiring the carrying of passes or permits not applicable to other sections of the community.⁽³⁰⁾ Together with the Transvaal Local Government Commission, under Colonel C.F. Stallard, these two investigations represented a "specific and self-conscious attempt to formulate a native policy appropriate to conditions of capitalist economic growth".⁽³¹⁾ Furthermore, this struggle to rationalize and centralize urban control emerged as a response to a period of intensified popular struggle and heightened proletarianisation.

The Godley report of 1922 had expressed no small degree of concern at the 'uncompromising attitude' of the S.A.N.N.C. and the subversive implications of an African bourgeoisie, 'reduced to living by their wits or at the expense of their fellow natives', because inadequate avenues existed for the channelling of their skills.⁽³²⁾ Hence, the Committee

(29) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws, 1920, U.G. 41-'42.

(30) For a brief examination of the Godley recommendations see T.R.H. Davenport, 'The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background', Occasional Paper No. 15, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1971, pp.11-12.

(31) M. Legassick, 'The Making of South African "Native Policy", 1903-1923: The Origins of "Segregation"' postgraduate seminar on Ideology and Social Structure in Twentieth Century South Africa, Institute of Commonwealth Studies (hereafter I.C.S.), University of London, 1973, p.1.

(32) U.G. 41-'22, paras. 19-27, pp.5-7.

arrived at the conclusion that the African middle classes should be granted greater recognition through the granting of freehold rights and exemptions. On the other hand, in 1921 the Stallard Commission rejected the findings of the Godley Committee and maintained that the African presence in the white urban areas was of a temporary nature. The Stallard Commission maintained that the prime purpose of this presence was 'to minister to the needs of the white man', and further, that the African had no right to be in any urban area 'when he cease(d) so to minister'. (33) The Native Affairs Commission, a statutory body set up under the Native Affairs Act of 1920, maintained a less clear position in this regard. While suggesting that 'the Native had not yet made a success of city life', the Commission also pointed out that Africans had established themselves in towns and were 'likely to remain there'. Continuing, the Commission, which included Natal segregationist C.T. Loram, claimed that:

... there is no place for the redundant native, who neither works nor serves his or her people but forms the class from the professional agitators, the slum landlords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes, and other undesirable classes spring. (34)

The Native Affairs Commission's argument however, stopped short of a straight Stallardist position since it recommended that a specific stratum of urban Africans should be granted vested property rights in, or near, the towns.

The task of reconciling the views of the Stallard Commission and the Native Affairs Commission fell to Native Affairs Commissioners Dr. A.W. Roberts, General L.A.S. Lemmer and Dr. C.T. Loram. They devoted considerable effort to preparing the way for the Urban Areas Bill - legislation which proposed to

(33) Report of the Local Government Commission 1921, T.P. 1-1922, para.42, p.13.

(34) Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1921, U.G.15-'22, p.25.

establish the foundations for a uniform state urban policy. In 1923, the Natives (Urban Areas) Bill which retained the African freehold recommendations, was introduced simultaneously with a Native Registration and Protection Bill, the aim of which was to cut out all the main irritants in the Pass laws.⁽³⁵⁾

However, in its final form, the relatively liberal Urban Areas Bill was transformed into a decidedly harsher piece of legislation. The main thrust of the Godley recommendations were removed and more stringent influx and registration measures incorporated into the Act. The freehold provisions were dropped and hence the Act also rejected the principle of encouraging the emergence of urban African middle classes. Increased control over Africans buying land outside of locations was to be enforced and restrictions were to be placed on Africans in peri-urban areas. Separate Native Revenue Accounts were to be established and herein were to be placed revenues obtained from location rents, fines and municipal beer halls. A system of advisory boards was to be set up with purely consultative powers and duties, comprising elected or appointed members and a white chairman. The key provisions of the 1923 Urban Areas Act can be outlined as follows:

- (i) Local authorities were to set aside separate land for the establishment of locations. Local authorities were to house Africans living in urban areas or were to compel employers to do so.
- (ii) A separate Native Revenue Account was to be established. Rents, fines and beer hall profits were to be placed in the Account.
- (iii) Provision was made for the local authority to monopolise the sale and production of "Kaffir Beer". The revenue from beer sales was to be channelled into the adminis-

(35) T.R.H. Davenport, 'African Townsmen?', p.98.

tration of locations and was also to fund the building of African houses.

- (iv) Trading rights for Africans were limited and freehold ownership of property by Africans was prohibited. Local authority could allow individual Africans exemption from living in locations but unexempted Africans were to be stopped from living outside of these locations.
- (v) The Act made provision for the establishment of Native Affairs Departments which were to be responsible for the day-to-day control of Africans in towns.
- (vi) A system of Native Advisory Boards with purely consultative powers was to be established. (36)

The 1923 Act thus ended up by enshrining the principles espoused by the Stallard Commission in 1921. As Bloch and Wilkinson assert, the differentiated form of control embodied in the original Bill was largely the work of mining capital. In its final form, the Act became more reflective of the interests of smaller (largely commercial) capitals. A "victory" which pre-figures the coming to power of the Pact Government in 1924. (37)

The 1923 Urban Areas Act included within its provisions a particular form of urban control. It is to the local level that we must shift attention in order to understand how one particular form of urban control came to define the "victory" of smaller commercial capital. In particular, it is to Durban and the Durban system that we must cast our scrutiny. Many of the features of the 1923 Act were to be found already in existence in Durban, the South African town which, more than

(36) See Robin Bloch and Peter Wilkinson, 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle: A Survey of State Urban Policy, 1920-1970', *Africa Perspective*, No.20, 1982, pp.15-16; also Eddie Koch, 'The Response of the Dominant Classes to Marabi Culture - Liberals, the Local State and the Black Petty Bourgeoisie', unpublished postgraduate seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1982, pp.1-2.

(37) Bloch and Wilkinson, 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle', pp.13-15.

any other, had drawn attention to itself through its 'model system' of urban control and management based upon a municipal beer monopoly.

There are strong suggestions that the Durban system and Durban's experience of urban administration served as a lever to remove many of the original proposals of the 1923 Urban Areas Bill. In January of 1923, a select Committee on Native Affairs was appointed. The fact that all three of the white political parties' leaders - General Smuts, General Hertzog and Col. Cresswell - sat on the Committee, gives some indication of the importance ascribed to the question of urban control and management of Africans. Out of a total of thirty-six witnesses, six came from Natal and four from Durban.⁽³⁸⁾ Significantly, the evidence of C.F. Layman directly influenced ten of the Committee's thirty-one resolutions amending clauses in the original Bill. The Select Committee effectively quashed the pass measures and the principle of freehold land tenure.

More to the point, however, is the pivotal importance ascribed to the whole question of African access to alcohol in urban areas. The Committee reflected on the widely diverging experiences of South Africa's urban centres in relation to the 'liquor question', with the Durban system being represented as a kind of touchstone; a point of reference which other local authorities invoked when discussing the particularities of this issue and hence the broader debate around urban control. Two out of the six main provisions of the 1923 Act dealt with the question of the control and supply of 'Kaffir beer' to Africans in towns and the nature of the utilisation of revenue from municipal beer monopolies.⁽³⁹⁾ On such issues, apart from more general questions relating to urban administration,

(38) C. Swart, 'Durban and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act', B.A. Honours Dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1981, p.40. Some useful points are drawn out by this work in relation to Durban and the Select Committee.

(39) See pp.126-7 above.

the Durban system was of crucial importance.

The evidence of C.F. Layman, the successor of J.S. Marwick in the municipal N.A.D., was couched in the well-worn terms of the repressionist segregationists.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Expressing the concerns characteristic of at least two decades of urban native policy in Natal, he asserted that:

... whatever success has attended the 'Durban System' of Native administration is to be attributed to the fact that in the first place those areas in which Natives were in unauthorised occupations were overhauled and the undesirables sent to their homes ... the complete absence of riotous and disorderly conduct among Natives in the locations in Durban is largely due to the sorting out process which was undertaken when the location was first established and the restrictions on the supply of Kaffir Beer. (41)

Layman also came out strongly against Clause 15 which allowed for the domestic brewing of beer by Africans. The monopoly system was premised on the destruction of the trade of African entrepreneurs involved in the beer trade; home brewing would, according to Layman, result in a campaign for the return to the 'old system' on the part of African petty traders. Examining S. Nyongwana's evidence before the Johannesburg Town Council in 1916, perhaps Layman was correct.⁽⁴²⁾

Layman attempted to de-emphasize the widespread patronage of Durban's beer halls claiming that, 'natives frequenting the Native eating houses do not spend more than 15 shillings per head per annum on native beer', although an estimated six thousand workers passed through the turnstiles per day. Yearly revenue returns after 1920 usually exceeded £45 000. It emerged before the Select Committee that the total costs of

(40) Legassick accurately characterizes Natal's native policy as "repressive". See M. Legassick, 'The Making of South African "Native Policy"', p.1.

(41) S.C.3-23, Evidence of C.F. Layman, p.133.

(42) See Chapter 2, p.103 above.

African housing were borne by the 'beer fund'; buildings whose valuation stood at £152 480 in 1922.⁽⁴³⁾ Layman was at pains to emphasize the strict nature of the administration of municipal liquor outlets. He claimed that municipal beer was a wholesome, barely-intoxicating drink and produced scientific data provided by the Borough Analyst to prove his point.⁽⁴⁴⁾

However, temperance advocates told another story. A.J. Cook, who had originally supported the monopoly legislation,⁽⁴⁵⁾ claimed that local authority in Durban was intent upon 'making a race of permanent alcohol-drinkers'.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Cook campaigned vigorously against the monopoly system. In one of three pamphlets he advocated a tax, equal to the average spent on beer by an individual per year, instead of the municipal beer monopoly.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Dr. J. McCord, a member of the recently formed Joint Council of Natives and Europeans and a medical practitioner with close to five thousand African patients, was more circumspect about the beer monopoly. Having a detailed knowledge of the functionings of the monopoly system, he opposed the sale of municipal beer but stated in evidence before the Select Committee that prohibition would be impractical.⁽⁴⁸⁾ McCord claimed that the amount of alcohol imbibed under the monopoly system was

(43) S.C.3-23, Evidence of C.F. Layman and Lt.-Col.G.A. Morris, pp.134-135, pp.139-40.

(44) This is reproduced in Appendix VII.

(45) See Chapter 1, p.66 above.

(46) S.C.3-23, Evidence of A.J. Cook, p.24.

(47) See A.J. Cook, The Durban System: Building Locations on Kaffir-beer (Cape Town, 1921), p.7. He published two further pamphlets, setting forward similar arguments. See A.J. Cook, Municipalities and Kaffir-beer; Why not the Durban System? (Cape Town, 1922). Also Town Councils and Kaffir-beer: The Case Against Municipal Brewing (Cape Town, 1924). All these pamphlets were published by the South African Temperance Alliance.

(48) For McCord's evidence, see S.C.3-23, pp.58-64.

easily ten times as much as under prohibition, but that drunkenness had markedly decreased since 1909. In opposing this argument, A.J. Cook cited the Baxter Report figures for 1917. The Report reflected African drunkenness per one thousand members of urban populations. Bloemfontein showed the lowest figures, 15, while Durban showed the highest, 32. Representatives of the Natal Municipal Association came out in unqualified support of the monopoly system, stressing the 'immense benefits from the system in regard to beer making in Natal'.⁽⁴⁹⁾ As Layman succinctly put it, 'the municipal control of Native beer goes further towards simplifying the management of the natives than any other tried method of dealing with the troublesome problem of native intemperance'.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Committee eventually accepted virtually all of Layman's recommendations.⁽⁵¹⁾ These related to the enforcement of stringent influx control measures, the validity of municipal beer monopolies, the rejection of African freehold land tenure, the control of peri-urban areas, the rejection of the idea of domestic brewing of beer and, most significantly, the principle that Africans should bear part, if not all, the social costs of their presence in urban areas. Indeed, C.F. Layman's municipal N.A.D. might have provided a suitable working example of the administrative apparatus which the Act prescribed for local authorities.

In one important area, representatives of the local state in Durban were unable to sway the Committee. This related to the channelling of revenue raised from workers' job registration fees. Up until 1923, these fees had been credited to the Borough Fund Account. This provided the municipality with the opportunity to channel revenue raised from Africans

(49) S.C.3-23, Evidence of D. Saunders and D. Paton, p.69. These two men were the President and Honorary Secretary of the Natal Municipal Association, respectively.

(50) S.C.3-23, p.137.

(51) Swart, 'Durban and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act,' p.64.

into areas not directly connected with their "welfare". The revenue raised from registration fees was by no means insubstantial and had proved an important means of cheapening the costs of urban management. ⁽⁵²⁾

Table 6 Revenue from African registration fees, 1917-1922

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
1917	£4 447	3 384	1 063
1918	7 764	4 430	3 424
1919	8 064	6 786	1 278
1920	9 145	7 458	1 687
1921	9 501	9 035	466
1922	10 043	8 522	1 621

While the manager of the municipal N.A.D. stated that beer revenue was given 'primarily to the native', he also admitted to 'a heavy draw off (of beer revenue) into the pocket of the Council'. ⁽⁵³⁾ At least £6 000 per annum was being utilised by the Durban municipality for police control alone. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ The new legislation now prohibited such flexibility in the channelling of revenue raised from Africans living in towns, through the establishment of the Native Revenue Account. Despite these provisions, however, the ministerial control of revenue raised through registration fees, fines, rents and especially municipal beer remained inconsistent. It appears that money derived from the municipal beer monopoly continued to find its way into areas deemed non-permissible by the Act.

Although the outlines for coherent state urban policy were born in 1923, the legislation remained essentially of an enabling kind. The final form of the 1923 Urban Areas Act bore the unmistakable mark of Stallardism, a principle of

(52) T.C.F. Draft Bye-laws-Registration of Natives, Vol.99, File 359A, jkt.3, Layman to T.C., 4 September 1923.

(53) S.C.3-23, Evidence of C.F. Layman, p.142.

(54) S.C.3-23, Evidence of Lt.-Col.G.A. Morris, p.142.

urban control which had long been the hallmark of urban administration in Durban. The Select Committee discovered that municipal beer monopolies provided one viable means of implementing Stallardist ideology. Beer revenue could fund the requisite apparatuses of control and go some distance in subsidising African housing. It is not possible to establish an unequivocal link between Durban's "proto-Stallardism" and the final form taken by the 1923 Act. There is every reason, however, to suggest a strong connection in this regard. The Mayor of Durban stated that:

Government pays the town a compliment by formulating its Native policy under the new Urban Areas Act along lines closely resembling what is now known as the 'Durban System'. (55)

Certainly, the Durban municipality did not miss the point.

Strong Drink, Diet and Beer Brewing

In 1926 the Roos Liquor Bill, which proposed to grant the central government the right to set up canteens to sell wine, was introduced before the Union parliament. Durban's municipal N.A.D. viewed this development with alarm. As Layman put it :

... if the proposed amendment of the liquor laws ... becomes law ... the Town Council's policy for the efficient housing of Native residents in the Borough will be seriously jeopardised, and the present effective control over the Natives ... will be lost entirely (56)

The Roos Liquor Bill passed into legislation in the form of Liquor Act No.30 of 1928 and the fears of the municipal N.A.D. were not realised. On the contrary, Act 30 declared yeast a prohibited commodity, yeast being a crucial quick-fermenting agency widely used in the production of illicit alcohol in

(55) Mayor's Minute, 1923, pp.12-13.

(56) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, Layman to T.C., 5 January 1926.

and around Durban. Yeast factories in Durban enjoyed a brief existence until the passing of the Liquor Act whereafter bye-laws were passed forbidding the sale of any fermenting agency. (57)

In placing evidence before the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill, Dr. C.T. Loram summed up three central reasons for the prohibition of alcohol to Africans. He testified that:

liquor ... will not only cause them to degenerate as a people, but will interfere very considerably with the ... efficiency of ... labour ... (The) extension of liquor privileges ... will impair their thrift, and so destroy ... their spending power ... (it) would result in an increase of drunkenness and so prove dangerous, not only to the natives ... but to the Europeans who come into contact with them. (58)

Loram's account is essentially a defence of the Durban system and indeed of state liquor policy in general. Prohibition (whether in an absolute form or in the guise of municipal beer monopolies) remained the basis of state liquor policy until 1937. (59) Along with prominent ideologues such as Loram, officials of the local state in Durban produced innumerable reports vindicating the particular form which prohibition assumed in the town. (60) Underlying most of these reports is an official apprehension of the dangers of African consumption of alcohol, other than the mild

(57) See Mayor's Minute, 1926, p.35. for the basis of the Municipality's opposition to the provisions of the Liquor Bill; also see the Report of the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill, S.C.7-'26, Evidence of D. Saunders, President of the Natal Municipal Association, pp.239-241.

(58) S.C.7-'26, Evidence of Dr. C.T. Loram, p.35.

(59) In certain towns strictly controlled domestic brewing was permitted. Port Elizabeth (New Brighton), Cape Town (Ndabeni), Bloemfontein and Kroonstad were the main centres of domestic brewing.

(60) Some of these are to be found in various Town Clerk's Files on Kaffir Beer.

municipal beer.

At one level, these fears were rooted in the fact that alternative sources of alcohol undermined both the control and the revenue functions of the monopoly. But more than this, illicit brews such as isitshimiyane and skoklaan were highly intoxicating and their widespread consumption by Africans threatened the productivity of the workforce. In this regard then, it was essential that the alcohol content of municipal beer be kept below three percent. The 1923 Urban Areas Act laid down that the alcohol content of municipal beer could not exceed four percent. The Manager of the municipal N.A.D. maintained a vigorous check on the alcohol level of beer produced at the Municipal Brewery. A detailed examination of the Borough Analyst's monthly returns for the years 1916 to 1924 indicates that the alcohol content of municipal beer rarely exceeded three percent. (61)

In the early twenties, it was claimed that 1 400 of the 6d. ($\frac{1}{3}$ of a gallon) tin mugs and over 250 of the 3d. ($\frac{1}{6}$ of a gallon) measures of beer were disposed of daily in Durban's beer halls. Roughly 4 000 Africans passed through the turnstiles to drink municipal beer each day. (62) By 1924 a larger beer measure had been introduced. This was the one shilling (or two thirds of a gallon measure). The reason for the introduction of a larger measure is most likely to be found in the increasing consumption of illicit liquor by Africans in shebeens in and around the town. By 1925 at least four times as much money was being spent at Durban's five beer halls per month - at a low estimate £4 110 - than in previous years.

The scrutiny of alcohol levels and the introduction of larger beer measures was aimed at reproducing a well-coerced and

(61) See T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkts. 1-3, Monthly Report of the Borough Analyst, 1916-1924.

(62) A.J. Cook, The Durban System, p.4.

sober African workforce. At the same time municipal beer continued to be officially presented as a healthy drink abundant in food value. That municipal utshwala was of some dietary importance to African workers would not appear to be a greatly controversial contention. D. Saunders, President of the Natal Municipal Association, put this issue in a nutshell: 'After the native has his meal and a pint, or even a quart, of native beer he is more fit for his work and has greater stamina than if he had his mealie meal alone.'⁽⁶³⁾ Similar points were made by Chief Constable W.A. Alexander, and C.F. Layman before the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Utshwala was often rich in yeast, a source of vitamin B complex as well as having a high anti-scorbutic index.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Africans could obtain exemption from the workings of the Urban Areas Act in order to use utshwala medicinally. So in one very real sense, municipal beer assisted in regenerating workers; in reproducing 'the muscles, nerves, bones and brains of existing workers'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Even if it is possible to exaggerate the dietary importance of utshwala as did officials of the municipal N.A.D., its relative "wholesomeness" was crucial.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Careful control of both the potency of the beer and the quantities consumed, was part of the process of

(63) S.C.7-'26, Evidence of D. Saunders, p.240

(64) See esp. S.C.7-'26, Evidence of Chief Constable W.A. Alexander, pp.841-43.

(65) See Introduction, p.12 above.

(66) K. Marx, Capital, Volume One (London, 1976), p.719. For some useful comments on the notion of the means of consumption (food) in sustaining the action of labour see G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History, A Defence (New York, 1982), p.53.

(67) For an illuminating discussion of the importance of beer for the diet of the English working class see A.E. Dingle, 'Drink and Working Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914,' Economic History Review, Second Series, Vol.25, 1972, pp.608-22.

reproducing an efficient labour force. It was against the strong drink brewed illegally in Durban and its peri-urban areas that the "wholesomeness" of municipal beer was defined. This definition pointed simultaneously to the ideological underpinnings of the Durban system, and to the abundantly clear threat which strong drink and its consumption posed to the efficiency of the system.

The beer monopoly struck at the heart of a broader pattern of African family settlement in Durban. Brewing and prostitution provided the only real means of subsistence for African women who could not find work either as domestic servants or as washerwomen. Roughly one tenth of ten thousand African domestic servants were female. A few hundred women, many from Baumannville, eked out a living as washerwomen, an occupation which by 1928 was virtually closed to Africans. African women tended to occupy a highly tenuous position within the town. For example, in the mid-twenties police rounded up and "deported" hundreds of women who were, if not already brewing, all potential brewers. (68)

While African women felt the rigorous influx measures most forcefully, they were also the first to feel impoverishment in the rural areas of Natal. A clearer picture of the grinding poverty being experienced by Africans in many parts of rural South Africa emerged only when the Native Economic Commission began taking evidence in 1930. Rural impoverishment drove African women into Durban and its peri-urban surroundings. If they began brewing, they faced the repression of the Borough Police who continued to raid shebeens in support of the beer monopoly and the urban native policy to which it was allied.

The opposition of African women to the beer monopoly, formally

(68) See uncited reference in M. Stein, 'State Liquor Policy since 1880', p.10.

recognised in 1914,⁽⁶⁹⁾ can be understood at a number of levels. Firstly, the operation of the large-scale capitalist brewing plant made small-scale brewing by women in town illegal. Secondly, and closely related to the above point, the monopoly was symbolic of a cheap labour policy which would not allow for the influx of women into Durban, despite the rural impoverishment which impelled them in this direction. Finally, women opposed the system because it precluded potential income from male workers, a section of whose wages municipal beer devoured.

The disguised form of exploitation embodied in the beer monopoly, and the ambivalent position of those patronising beer halls, is captured in a comparative description of other forms of disguised exploitation in Italy. Writing in Naples in 1924, Walter Benjamin noted that:

With the pawnshop and lotto the state holds the proletariat in a vice: what it advances to them in one hand it takes back in the other. The more discreet and liberal intoxication of Hazard (dice game) in which the whole family takes part replaces that of alcohol. (70)

In Durban the hold of the beer halls appears to have been strongest over togt workers and ricksha pullers, the latter being viewed as the most drunken section of Durban's popular classes. Domestic servants did not, according to the municipal N.A.D., generally drink a great deal of municipal beer. Over weekends however, a large-scale migration of all sections of the working classes to the peri-urban shebeens took place. Increasing convictions for popular drunkenness and possession of illicit alcohol provide one index of this state of affairs.

In 1926, 7 816 African women on the Witwatersrand were convicted for possessing "kaffir beer". The total adult

(69) See Chapter 2, p.100 above.

(70) Walter Benjamin, 'Naples', in One Way Street (London, 1979), p.173.

female population was only 24 000.⁽⁷¹⁾ A similar pattern is observable in Natal in general and Durban in particular, although cases dealing with the possession of utshwala were not as high as the Witwatersrand. In 1925, 1 135 cases dealing with the possession of beer by Africans were reported in Natal. For the same period, on the Witwatersrand alone, some 13 935 cases were reported. However, the S.A.P. figures relating to the possession of alcohol stronger than utshwala in the Transvaal and Natal, tell a different story. In Natal, 1 091 cases were reported, of which Durban accounted for the majority, while in the Transvaal, 1 810 cases were dealt with.⁽⁷²⁾ The figures for Natal in this regard do not account for Durban's returns since the Borough Police acted independently of the S.A.P. The possession of strong drink in Durban between 1924 and 1927 escalated markedly.⁽⁷³⁾

Table 7 Africans in possession of strong drink, Durban
1924-1927.

<u>Year</u>	1924	1925	1926	1927
<u>Convictions</u>	133	200	441	467

These figures suggest the extent to which the drinking culture of Durban and surrounding areas maintained its defensive resilience. The source of much illicit liquor brewing was to be found in Durban's peri-urban areas. These areas, by the late twenties, were supporting a burgeoning African population and extensive illicit brewing. The extent of African settlement in the peri-urban areas was brought out by an independent report in 1925.⁽⁷⁴⁾

(71) M. Stein, 'State Liquor Policy, p.10.

(72) S.C.7-26, Appendix BB, Schedule "B", S.A.P. Return of Cases Reported Under the Union Liquor Laws. The Witwatersrand accounted for 1 604 of the Transvaal cases.

(73) Mayor's Minutes, 1924-1927.

(74) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, Report of Health Committee of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, c.1925.

Table 8 Peri-Urban African population c.1925.

	<u>South Coast area</u>	<u>Mayville</u>	<u>Sydenham</u>
African population	6 500	8 000	8 000
African house owners/ tenants	6 500	7 200	7 000

Approximately seventy five percent of Africans in these areas were living a family life. The female population numbered 6 000, the male population 12 300 and the child population 3 700. These areas formed a de facto part of the Borough. They held a vast reserve army of labour and peri-urban squatter population. Moreover, those women who found existence within the Borough untenable, moved outside of the town and there, many households became centres of popular social intercourse. It was here that isitshimiyane and other potent brews such as skokiaan were freely available to commuting African workers, or to those who had already carved out living space an hour's walk from Durban.

In Natal, drinking in municipal beer halls became known as 'drinking in a cage'.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Implicit in this term is a rejection of municipally-provided "coercive leisure". The clearest expression of cultural opposition to the beer halls was the growing popularity or accessibility of shebeens in and around Durban. The alternative social character of Durban's illegal shebeens is captured by one report in the late twenties:

From Saturday afternoon until Sunday morning the Natives are mostly left to find amusement for themselves. This may and does take undesirable forms - illicit drinking, listening to the ill-informed and unbalanced agitator of communistic or anti-European tendencies, the attendance at dance halls where the notaries of the national Zulu dance rub shoulders with

(75) J.D. Rheinalt Jones and A.C. Saffery, 'Social and Economic Conditions of Native Life in South Africa', Bantu Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 1935, p.86

others after indulging in European dances in some cases with loose women, etc. The atmosphere at these forms of amusements is unhealthy in the extreme and can but lead to deterioration. (76)

For the alternative cultural expression of the shebeen to become transformed into more sustained organised opposition to the Durban system depended on, amongst other things, conscious leadership. The more obviously coercive aspects of the Durban system - the police force, registration, curfew and location bye-laws, compulsory medical examination and the proscription of meetings and dance halls - were experienced as daily oppressions by African popular classes in Durban. However, for the monopoly system to be perceived as integral to the labour coercive economy depended upon a popular consciousness drawing the connections between the beer monopoly itself, and the web of coercion and the form of urban policy which was its outgrowth. The conjuncture at which this consolidation took place can be located in the overt struggles during a period of capitalist crisis in the late twenties.

The Emergence of Organised Popular Opposition to the Durban System

After 1925, African political organisations were to take up the question of local and central state control of liquor brewing and consumption. Between 1924 and 1929 the Pact government gave greater assistance to white farmers. However, for Africans in the countryside, these years ushered in a period of bleak poverty. Soaring agricultural production by whites in Natal was predicated upon reducing the land allocated to Africans and tightening stock restrictions. (77) Emergent agrarian capitalism carried in its tow African land

(76) Report of the Native Affairs Commission on the Native Population in Durban, An.205 - 1930, (Report in Library of Parliament).

(77) See Helen Bradford, 'Strikes in the Natal Midlands: landlords, tenants and the I.C.U.', Africa Perspective, No.22, 1983, p.4.

hunger, evictions and painfully low wages paid to labour tenants. The corollary of this state of affairs was to be found in an increasing flow of Africans to urban centres where, if they could not find work, they remained unemployed or swelled the size of the lumpenproletarian population. The majority of these newly-urbanized people generally settled in peri-urban areas.

One of the first towns to experience the mobilisation of popular discontent around the issue of beer brewing was Bloemfontein. The beer question provided a symbol through which broader economic issues could be articulated. A series of riots, over a period of two days in the Waaihoek location, left five Africans dead and twenty-four seriously injured.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The "Bloemfontein system", often compared and contrasted with the Durban system, allowed for the strictly controlled domestic brewing of beer by Africans in the overcrowded and condemned location. A large influx of unattached women, unable to subsist in the countryside because of starvation wages on white-owned farms, had moved into Waaihoek in 1925.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The efforts of the local police in curbing this influx of 'redundant' women and their beer brewing operations, sparked the riots in April of the same year.

The Commission appointed to enquire into the riots, laid the blame on African women who were seen to be 'at the root of most location disturbances', and whose 'main occupation was immorality and liquor-selling'.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Significantly, two years earlier the superintendent of the Bloemfontein location had claimed: 'If you take away from the native the

(78) Government Gazette, 11 September 1925, Commission of Inquiry into Native Riots at Bloemfontein, p.47.

(79) Native Riots at Bloemfontein, p.479. See also Baruch Hirson, 'The Bloemfontein Riots, 1925: A Study in Community Culture and Class Consciousness', unpublished postgraduate seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1983.

(80) Native Riots at Bloemfontein, p.481.

power of domestic brewing ... he would boycott the municipal product.' (81) The Bloemfontein location riots throw useful comparative light on the utilisation of beer brewing as a means of mobilisation around wider popular issues. Symbolically, domestic beer brewing was invoked as a "national right" of African women. In Durban this notion, which was firmly embedded in the soil of popular consciousness, was to be of critical importance for the struggles directed at the Durban system in the late twenties. Also of pivotal importance in these struggles was the capacity of African organisations to strike a chord resonant with this popular consciousness and culture. It should not pass unnoticed that A.W.G. Champion, who was later to play an important role in organizing opposition to the municipal beer monopoly in Durban, was active in the I.C.U. in Bloemfontein during the period of the riots. (82)

Although C.T. Loram asserted that it was against the 'whole tradition and habit of mind (of Africans) to be merchants', (83) by 1924 over 240 officially recognised traders were operating, under strict police supervision, at various municipal beer halls in Durban. (84) The simple dichotomy of the past between Christian and 'Kraal' Africans was replaced by an official recognition that a 'permanent town Native element' had emerged, along with distinct social strata (85) such as townsmen, casual labourers and migrant workers. By 1931

(81) S.C.3-23, Evidence of G. Cook, Superintendent of the Bloemfontein location, p.93.

(82) See Natal Archives, Commission of Inquiry into Durban Native Riots, 1929, Minutes of Evidence, p.335, Evidence of A.W.G. Champion. Champion had joined the I.C.U. in May 1925, spent a month as organiser of the Union in the Transvaal and was then sent to Bloemfontein. He also gave evidence to the Commission of Inquiry into the 1925 riots at Bloemfontein. These Minutes of Evidence would be of great use to social historians, if they are available.

(83) S.C.3-23, Evidence of C.T. Loram, p.186

(84) See Appendix VIII.

(85) See, for example, Mayor's Minute, 1924, p.199.

the Town Council had taken these distinctions further when they noted the presence in town of the 'married native', the 'educated native' who followed European habits, the 'trader' and the 'labourer'. (86)

It was amongst this increasingly diverse African community that Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.) attempted to organise. Kadalie was invited to Durban in 1925 by J.T. Gumede, a leader of the Natal Native Congress (N.N.C.). Despite Kadalie's claims that the I.C.U. did 'not entertain any outside revolutionary doctrines', the Durban Town Council objected to the I.C.U. holding any meetings within the Borough. (87) Despite this official opposition to the Union, in July 1925, A.P. Maduna was appointed Provincial Secretary of the I.C.U., as well as being made responsible for the running of a Durban branch.

Maduna appears to have been quick in taking up one of the major grievances of African workers: the compulsory bodily disinfecting of workers prior to job registration. At a mass meeting held at Cartwright's Flats, a popular African meeting place in the centre of the town (see Map 1), a resolution was passed noting that:

the unreasonable, ignominious, inhuman and degrading action ... of dipping native workers irrespective of sex and class ... is not only atrocious to the extreme but is revolting ... that this dipping having reached its highest point of evil ... can no longer be tolerated. (88)

(86) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 1, Evidence submitted by the Town Council to the Native Economic Commission, 18 March 1931.

(87) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.2, C. Kadalie to Mayor, 20 August 1924.

(88) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, A.P. Maduna to T.C., 31 August 1925. Maduna referred to the 'dipping' of African women. Although evidence on this point cannot be located, it is not inconceivable that women were being subjected to a similar process.

Maduna drew out the connections between dipping and pass-bearing. He claimed that the dipping of Africans was synonymous with the pass system which 'compelled Africans to go to pass offices in order to obtain permission to seek work'. The mass meeting resolved to embark on a 'moral struggle' to free themselves from dipping, and passes with their insidious 'character column'.

In late 1925, A.W.G. Champion, former police-informer and mine clerk, replaced Maduna as Provincial Secretary, took over the Durban Branch of the I.C.U. and founded the Durban Workers' Club. The Mayor of Durban declined an invitation to attend the opening of the Club on the grounds that the I.C.U. was 'founded on false terms and not calculated to promote the good understanding which should exist amongst all races'.⁽⁸⁹⁾ This attitude was to characterise the relations between the local state and the I.C.U. (and later the I.C.U. yase Natal) for a decade. By January 1927, the I.C.U. was claiming a nationwide membership of 57 760 from a previous claim of 17 760. Durban accounted for over half this increase.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Simultaneously with the agitation of the I.C.U. around the most degrading aspects of the Durban system, the N.N.C. began to take up issues affecting workers in Durban. The growing militancy of African organisations such as the I.C.U., the African National Congress and the N.N.C. after 1924, can be related directly to the impact upon Africans of the policies of the Nationalist-Labour Party Coalition government which came to power in 1924. The aims of the Pact government were to protect the position of white wage-earners through a 'civilized labour policy', to encourage the development of agrarian capitalism (which meant a readily available supply of African labour for white farmers) and to enforce strict

(89) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, Mayor to Provincial Secretary, I.C.U., 19 December 1925.

(90) P.L. Wickins, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (Cape Town, 1978), p.116.

controls over black labour. As Helen Bradford notes, "in all four arenas the black middle classes were expendable".⁽⁹¹⁾ In organisations such as the I.C.U. and N.N.C. middle and aspirant African middle classes found their political home, especially after 1925. It was also in these organisations that a predominantly petty bourgeois leadership expressed its fears of being squeezed down the short stairwell into the ranks of the labouring classes. As early as 1924, the N.N.C. expressed concern at the 'attempts being made' to 'oust Africans from a share in the various works of the Union Government', and the 'displacement of Native Labour'.⁽⁹²⁾ Similar fears were expressed by Durban's small, but important section of African traders. They held meetings at the Durban Workers' Club, organised themselves into the African Stall Owners' Association and petitioned both the I.C.U. and N.N.C. to take up their struggle against the competition posed by white and Indian traders in Durban.⁽⁹³⁾

In the mid-twenties, a split developed in the Natal Native Congress between J.T. Gumede and the stalwart Congress leader, John Dube. Dube desired to keep the N.N.C. independent of the national A.N.C. and viewed the Natal Congress, whose membership generally comprised a small élitist group of African property owners, as his "local, loose and personal empire".⁽⁹⁴⁾ J.T. Gumede opposed the sectionalism of Dube and other congressmen whose occupation of relatively secure positions within capitalist social relations, distanced

(91) Helen Bradford, 'Petty Bourgeois or Proletarian: The Class Nature of I.C.U. Leadership in the Countryside', unpublished seminar paper presented to the Economic History Department, University of Cape Town, 1983, p.9.

(92) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.2, Native Protest, September(?), 1924.

(93) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.43, File 315, jkt.1, Petition of the Native Stall Owners' Association, 1 December 1925.

(94) Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952 (California, 1971), p.229.

them from day-to-day popular struggles. In 1926 he formed the Natal African Congress (N.A.C.) which affiliated to the National A.N.C. in place of the N.N.C. John Dube's N.N.C. became increasingly isolated and continued to cling to its regional roots.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Between 1926 and 1930 the N.A.C. and the I.C.U. in Natal were to enjoy relatively healthy collaboration, and together they attempted to take up the grievances of ordinary African people living under the Durban system.

The close collaboration between the I.C.U. and Gumede's N.A.C. was affirmed when, in March and June of 1926, a series of mass meetings were held at Cartwright's Flats under the auspices of the N.A.C.⁽⁹⁶⁾ One resolution requested that 'all men and women join the Natal Native Congress and the I.C.U.'⁽⁹⁷⁾ Two mass meetings over consecutive weekends affirmed the N.A.C.'s opposition to "dipping" which remained a 'constant source of every complaint' amongst Africans working in Durban. Every African was 'liable to undergo this process, irrespective of his or her cleanliness, education or civilization' and forced to 'have his or her clothes suffocated in the steam'.⁽⁹⁸⁾ This undifferentiated treatment of blacks proved particularly irksome to the N.A.C.

(95) See G.M. Gerhart and T. Karis (eds.), Political Profiles, Volume 4 of T. Karis and G.M. Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge: a Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964, 4 Vols, (Stanford, 1977), p.25, p.35, p.89.

(96) Although some of the resolutions adopted at these meetings appear in primary sources as those of the N.N.C., it must be realised that each is signed by J.T. Gumede as President of the N.N.C. It is more accurate to see these resolutions as emanating from the N.A.C. which was in the process of formalising its split from Dube's N.N.C.

(97) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, Resolution of the Natal Native Congress, Cartwright Flats, 17 March 1926.

(98) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, Statement by N.N.C. Deputation to Mayor of Durban, 12 March 1926.

leadership and particularly to Gumede and Rev. P. Lamula, Chairman of the local N.A.C. branch.

Grassroots resistance to "dipping" resulted in many Africans either refusing to submit to the process or leaving town. By 1926 an average of 35 000 workers were passing through the Cleansing Station each year. However, in June 1927 it was reported that only 468 Africans had submitted to ordeal by steam and disinfectant over a period of six months.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The I.C.U. challenged the dipping of Africans through the Supreme Court, won the case and left the municipality no means of coercing Africans through the 'deverminising' process.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Champion, on behalf of the I.C.U., had hired prominent Durban solicitors, Cowley and Cowley, to challenge various other bye-laws in court. These included some of the harshest aspects of the Durban system such as the character column on passes, curfew laws, the management of African trade in town, conditions in Baumannville and the Depot Road location, as well as the prohibition of meetings in the location.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ This programme of litigation resulted in the abolition of "dipping", the removal of the character column on passes, the lifting of the curfew and the curbing of police power in relation to arbitrary arrest of Africans. Popular militancy channelled by the I.C.U. was at least making some impression on local forms of oppression.

In 1925, various African tax laws were consolidated in the Native Taxation and Development Act (No.41). A general tax of £1 was levied on every male African and in rural areas hut tax was increased to a maximum of £2.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The Mines and Works

(99) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, Medical Officer of Health to T.C., 20 June 1927.

(100) See Stanley Trapido, 'Interview with A.W.G. Champion, 1964', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, No.6, 1974, p.18.

(101) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, Champion to T.C., 10 May 1926.

(102) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.205.

Amendment Act of 1926 and the promulgation of the Native Administration Bill, which aimed at extending segregationist measures in relation to South Africa's black population, added another dimension to more local oppression. When large numbers of Africans who had failed to pay the newly-instituted tax were arrested in Durban, African organisations were quick to protest. The response of J.T. Gumede was to call a mass meeting under the auspices of his section of Congress in Natal. For the first time in the history of the Durban system a strategy for the dismantling of the beer monopoly was proposed. The meeting passed a resolution calling for the boycotting of beer halls and the abolition of the monopoly legislation with the help of 'temperance societies'.⁽¹⁰³⁾ In a further resolution passed by the N.A.C. in June 1926, it was stated that:

... in consequence of the said harsh and illegal action of the Police towards the Native population of Durban, it has been resolved to BOYCOTT the Durban Corporation beer canteens. (104)

Finally shorn of the more conservative tendencies present in John Dube's faction of Congress in Natal, the more militant N.A.C. under Gumede promised to organise more sustained opposition to oppression by the local state in Durban. The beer monopoly provided the symbol around which popular mobilisation could take place.

Although the boycott call does not appear to have been taken up in a sustained way, beer revenue did drop significantly

(103) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, Resolutions of mass meeting of the Natal Native Congress, Cartwright's Flats, Durban, 17 March 1926. J.T. Gumede presided at this meeting as Vice-president of the A.N.C. The split between Dube's N.N.C. and the Natal Branch of the A.N.C. (Gumede's N.A.C.) was becoming more clear-cut at this time.

(104) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 1, Resolution of Mass of the Durban Branch of the A.N.C., 23 June 1926 (Emphasis in original). By this time Rev. P. Lamula, previously Chairman of the Durban Branch of the N.N.C., had followed Gumede into the N.A.C.

between 1926 and 1927.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In evidence before the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill it was stated that 'representative natives' had given the following reasons for the formulation of the 1926 boycott resolution: (i) that if it was criminal for Africans to brew beer, then it was equally criminal for the state to do so; (ii) excessive drinking could endanger the safety of 'European ladies'; (iii) relatively non-intoxicating liquor could lead to the cultivation of a taste for stronger alcohol, and (iv) money spent at the canteens was squandered.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Temperance and teetotal arguments had characterised the views of certain African leaders in the past. For example, D.D.T. Jabavu, a teacher at Fort Hare and editor of Imvo Zabantsundu, claimed that 'those who do not have self-respect use Kaffir beer'.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ P.J. Gumede, who was active in the African Congregational Churches of the American Board Mission, saw alcohol as a source of 'immorality and criminality'.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Yet on the other hand, H.S. Msimang asserted domestic brewing by Africans as a national right.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ There can be little doubt that popular opposition to municipal beer halls was not rooted in a temperance perspective, even though certain elements of this discourse were present in the formal expressions of opposition to Durban's beer halls. It is thus highly improbable that the well-worn arguments supplied to the Select Committee emanated from the N.A.C. On the contrary, the N.A.C. resolution had been forged in, and was a response to, a period of heightened state repression and increasing rural hardship. Furthermore, the Durban beer monopoly was marked out

(105) See Appendix X.

(106) S.C.7-'26, Evidence of H.S. Cooke, pp.398-99. It is possible that individuals such as Rev. Abner Mtimkulu might have provided these reasons. Mtimkulu was a close associate of John Dube.

(107) S.C.3-23, Evidence of D.D.T. Jabavu, p.16.

(108) C.N.C. Vol.329, 2185/1918, P. Gumede to General Botha, 4 August 1918.

(109) S.C.3-23, Evidence of Selby Msimang, pp.115-121. Also see Interview with Selby Msimang, Edendale, 4 December, 1981.

as an issue around which wider popular grievances could be mobilised. At this level, it was generally perceived to be a symbol of oppression and exploitation rather than a source of demoralisation.

The jagged process of proletarianisation in Natal continued apace after 1926. Dock workers embarked on a strike in June 1927 in order to force the release of fellow workers who had been arrested for failing to pay poll tax.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The Vagrancy bye-laws were utilised to expel 5 819 Africans from the city over a period of six months.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Brewing of isitshimiyane by domestic servants on a previously unknown scale was taking place and 'poisonous intoxicants' were reportedly endemic in peri-urban areas such as Sarnia.⁽¹¹²⁾ A total of 2 792 prosecutions for isitshimiyane were reported during six months in 1928.⁽¹¹³⁾ The Chief Constable noted that:

Having little or no occupation and limited facilities for recreation ... the Native is naturally tempted to forsake the atmosphere of his compound for the outskirts of the Borough and there abandon himself to drink which is readily obtainable from the illicit liquor manufacturer. (114)

It was this drinking culture, deeply embedded in the lived experience of Durban's African populace which, together with local state repression in the late twenties, provided the context for the N.A.C. resolution in 1926. The resolution

(110) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.205-06.

(111) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 1 April 1926.

(112) See Natal Archives, Durban Municipal Inquiry, August 1927, Vol.1, Evidence of C.L. Dube, p.579; also T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.43, File 315, jkt.2, A. Tenbes to T.C., 30 May 1928.

(113) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 13 October 1928.

(114) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 13 October 1928.

in turn supplied evidence of the consolidation of the connection between the beer monopoly and the Durban system as a whole. It was only after 1928 that this consolidation was to be unevenly translated into overt popular resistance to the monopoly system in Durban.

University of Cape Town



Ricksha pullers posing with the proprietor of a ricksha company c.1910. Some of these men are wearing the red-trimmed calico uniform commonly worn by 'house-boys'. Note registration badges worn on their wrists.



African Washerman. These men would wash clothes in the Umgeni River over four miles away. Note registration badge on his left arm.



Above: African Herbalists in Durban c.1910. Note ricksha in background.



Above: African Petty Traders opposite Queen Street Market, c.1930.



I.C.U. meeting addressed by A.W.G. Champion at
Cartwright's Flats, 1929.



Above and Below: Borough Police Flying Squad unearthing and destroying isitsimiyane which had been buried underground by illicit brewers in 1929. The various drink containers were located by means of sharp metal rods.





Above: African and White Policemen march towards scene of rioting in the vicinity of Victoria Street, 17 June 1929.



Above: Railway workers in Compound at Congella being guarded by a member of the S.A.P., November 1929. These men showed a high degree of militancy during 1929.



Above: Members of the C.I.D. at their headquarters in Smith Street, November 1929. In the foreground are some of the sticks confiscated during the poll tax raids. Note dummy gun held by policeman on right.



Above: Group of African poll-tax defaulters in Durban Court House Grounds, awaiting unprecedented Sunday trial, November 1929.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DURBAN SYSTEM IN CRISIS: 'BAD BEER', THE 1929 RIOTS AND BOYCOTT, 1928-1930.

The detribalized Native has unlearned that admirable unwritten code which existed, uniformly recognized and administered among the tribes for generations. Further, a social ambition is creeping over this class and from these conditions arise the increasing difference of opinion among Europeans and Natives. Durban will not admit of any social intimacy, yet an unchecked flood of detribalized Natives presages a clash between the types of civilization which the two races represent.

(Mayor's Minute, 1926)

The 40 000 Natives are boycotting the municipal beer, but no one takes the trouble of finding out their real motive. It is their national beverage - (they) have not suddenly become teetotallers. They have a reason for boycotting their customary beer.

(J. Mapumulo, Natal Mercury, 10/9/29)

I say the Natives in Durban today are solid, they are one.

(Induna Makati Luhongwana, November 1929)

The boycott of our Municipal beer halls continues to the detriment of the revenue of the Native Revenue account.

(Town Clerk, November 1929)

Throughout the twenties the central state in South Africa failed to provide local authorities with adequate financial support to enforce the law of 1923. The primary contradiction of South Africa's cheap labour system remained. Despite the 'amazing prosperity' which had been 'built up on a basis of the cheapest of cheap labour', as one Natal I.C.U. member put it in 1927,⁽¹⁾ the provision of social services for African labour in urban areas threatened to undermine the basis of this labour's cheapness. A cheapness which relied

(1) See Udibi Lwase Afrika, September 1927.

upon the continued migrancy of this workforce, and its corollary, the rural reserve. Because the central state possessed neither the funds nor the administrative machinery to realise its vision of a centralized system of urban control projected by the Urban Areas Act,⁽²⁾ the responsibility for the housing of Africans in urban centres tended to be foisted upon local authorities who were expected to finance the social costs of African labour, either through their General Rates Fund, or by extracting the requisite finances from urban Africans themselves. A national policy of compelling local white property owners to subsidize the costs of reproducing African labour power, would clearly cut into profits. For this reason, where possible, the provision of worker accommodation and services in towns tended to be thrown back onto the dominated classes themselves. The form in which urban Africans were to be made responsible for a significant part of their own social costs was through the Native Revenue Account, the most important single basis of cheap labour in South African towns.

Throughout the twenties, the financing and provision of African welfare, schools, health services, and particularly housing, was largely left to local authorities. This meant that the Native Revenue Accounts of South African towns - in which all fines, African trading rents, accommodation rents, registration fees and beer profits were placed - tended to be subsidized from General Rates Funds in order to make the accounts self-balancing. In Johannesburg the Native Revenue Account had accumulated a large deficit by 1929.⁽³⁾ The scale of such provision varied from area to area however, and hence created regional disequilibrium in the quality and quantity of services and accommodation, and this tended to undermine the conditions under which labour was being acquired

(2) Bloch and Wilkinson, 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle', p.17.

(3) See E. Koch, 'The Destruction of Marabi Culture - Urban Segregation in Johannesburg, 1923-1938', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p.193.

and reproduced at a national level.⁽⁴⁾ In the face of the limited nature of central government subsidies, the Native Revenue Accounts became of critical importance.

The difference between the rents which urban Africans could afford to pay for housing and the amount to which the cost of that housing could be reduced through central government subsidies, had to be made up from the Native Revenue Accounts of South Africa's over 217 local authorities.⁽⁵⁾ Given the inability of the state to provide adequate subsidies, the resistance of white taxpayers to financing the social costs of African labour from the General Rates Fund, and the inability of African workers to pay economic rents, the provision of accommodation and services for a growing urban African population in South Africa was bound to be subject to crises.

As has been noted elsewhere, the management of reproduction is a profoundly political process.⁽⁶⁾ Attempts to keep the costs of labour low brought with them the need to establish conditions under which worker militancy could be kept in check, even if it could not be neutralised. By the late twenties the attainment of such conditions was growing increasingly difficult to achieve in the face of ongoing African urbanisation and popular struggles. In examining these struggles it is necessary to understand the ways in which regional patterns of cultural resistance, political organisation and urban control determined their particular character and outcomes. For example, when Durban experienced an upsurge of popular militancy in the late twenties, it was by no means fortuitous that the municipal beer monopoly became

(4) See Gerald Kraak, 'Financing of African Worker Accommodation in Cape Town', Saldrú Working Paper No.35, University of Cape Town, 1981.

(5) Bloch and Wilkinson, 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle', p.22.

(6) Bloch and Wilkinson, 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle', p.16.

the most conspicuous target of this militancy.

Housing, Proletarianisation and African Political Organizations in Durban in the Late Twenties

Possibly more than any other local authority in South Africa, Durban attempted to give concrete expression to the opinion that the African popular classes should bear a large portion of the costs of their own reproduction. Before 1929, the possibility of opposition on the part of white taxpayers in Durban towards financing the social costs of African labour had never arisen, precisely because of the huge revenue accruing to the Native Revenue Account. Up until 1929, Durban's Native Revenue Account was not only self-supporting but also generated massive profits.⁽⁷⁾ The financial losses which the municipality suffered through charging sub-economic rentals for municipal accommodation, were easily offset by the profits from the enormous quantities of utshwala sold in Durban's beer halls.⁽⁸⁾ In 1929, Durban's Mayor noted that the Town Council had not compelled employers of more than twenty-five Africans to finance the housing of such workers because, it was claimed, 'the imposition of an expensive Native housing programme on minor industries would be a hardship'. At the same time, the Town Council noted diverse criticisms of 'the system of subsidizing Native housing in this manner'. The underlying basis of these criticisms was that 'the Native (did) not derive the fullest benefit of wages through living in locations and hostels let at an uneconomic rental'.⁽⁹⁾ On the basis of the profits accruing to the

(7) See Appendices XI and XIII.

(8) See R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the financial policy of certain municipalities towards the natives within their boundaries', South African Journal of Economics, Vol.7, No.2, 1930, pp.149-171. This is an early and perceptive article on beer and the fiscal basis of local government.

(9) Mayor's Minute, 1929, p.16.

Native Revenue Account, Durban had received a loan of £50 000 from the central government in 1927 in order to build a further 60 cottages at Baumannville, and to increase accommodation in the Depot Road and the Dalton Road Hostels by 506 beds each.⁽¹⁰⁾ Up to this time 17 other municipalities in South Africa had collectively received only £83 000 in loans.⁽¹¹⁾

The housing which the Durban Town Council provided, in keeping with its adherence to the Stallardism of the 1923 Act, was predominantly for an African migrant labour force. However, the Durban system was continually having to undergo refinement in order to keep pace with African urbanization and social consciousness. In 1927, nearly one half of Natal's urban African population was to be found in Durban, where 'a steady concentration of the masses' was noted by the town's Mayor.⁽¹²⁾ Figures reflecting the number of Africans living in formal accommodation by 1929 provide some indication of this trend.⁽¹³⁾

Table 9 African accommodation in Durban c.1929.

Municipal Hostels for males	5 110
Municipal Hostels for females	250
Municipal Houses (120)	400
Government Departments	5 000
Private Licensed Barracks	10 000
Private Employers (mostly domestic servants)	10 000
Floating Population	7 700
TOTAL	38 460

(10) Durban was in a unique position in so far as repayment of loans was concerned because of the soundness of its Native Revenue Account.

(11) Mayor's Minute, 1927, p.274.

(12) Mayor's Minute, 1927, p.29.

(13) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, Report on the Working of the Monopoly System in Durban as provided for under Section 21 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 21 of 1923, 1929. See also Mayor's Minute, 1929, pp.54-5. The number of Africans in municipal housing was probably higher, since conditions of overcrowding were perennial.

In response to growing urbanisation, the first clear moves to establish a large African location of over five hundred houses for 'the best elements of the married type', were made. In 1928 a further loan of £50 000 was sought from central government. (14)

From 1928, the Durban Town Council moved towards implementing measures outlined by the 1923 Urban Areas Act. The effects of the government's 'uncertain policy', and the confusion over the relative responsibilities of the central and local state, were to be offset by the implementation of selected provisions of the Urban Areas Act. In January 1928, for example, the Borough was proclaimed an area, in terms of the Act, within which local authority could exercise control of service contracts and regulate the ingress of Africans. (15) A Commissioner's Court was also established under Section 17 of the Act in order to deal with 'idle, dissolute and disorderly Natives' and municipal quarters for Africans were declared as Hostels and Reception Depots in terms of the Act.

The Durban Mayor's Minute of 1927 had referred to the 'growing tendency of Natives to oppose municipal control'. (16) The organisations through which this opposition was objectified were the I.C.U. and A.W.G. Champion's secessionist I.C.U. yase Natal, which broke from the parent national body in 1928. Prior to 1929 the I.C.U. had won a number of legal battles against the local state. (17) However, despite the organisation's achievements and its attempts to politicise workers

(14) For an examination of the attempts to establish this location see Louise Torr, 'The Durban City Council and Urban Land Use 1923-1933: The Founding of Lamont', unpublished paper presented to Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.

(15) Government Gazette, 20 January 1928, Government Notice No.10.

(16) Mayor's Minute, 1927, p.28.

(17) See Chapter 3, p.148 above. Many of these victories were pyrrhic since new bye-laws were enacted reversing previous gains.

by means of mass meetings, it had failed to develop a programme which was resonant with the daily subsistence needs of the majority of Durban's African workers. A memorandum addressed to the Town Council by the I.C.U. yase Natal, reveals the extent of the cleft between I.C.U. yase Natal leadership and rank and file members. While there was protest about compulsory registration of women, low wages, the squalor of the Depot Road location and the oppressive registration procedures for monthly workers, equal, if not greater, attention was given to matters that were of concern only to a small class of urban petty traders.⁽¹⁸⁾ The question of municipal policy towards African traders emerges as a major point of contention in the memorandum.

The picture presented by the Natal Native Congress was even less edifying. John Dube continued to control the N.N.C. virtually as an "independent fief"⁽¹⁹⁾ and was supported by a small urban and rural African élite with strong traditionalist leanings. In 1928, F.M. Xulu, a long-standing associate of Dube was elected Durban Branch Chairman.⁽²⁰⁾ The Natal Provincial Branch of the A.N.C., which Gumede had forged into the Natal African Congress in 1926, continued to operate independently of the N.N.C. In 1927, when Gumede was elected President of the radicalised A.N.C., this split became

(18) National Archives, Pretoria, Department of Justice Files (hereafter D.J.) K22 B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots-Exhibits, File 6301/29, I.C.U. Memorandum to Mayor, 19 September 1928. Durban was the only town in South Africa enforcing such registration of African women.

(19) Shula Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.1, No.2, 1975, p.163.

(20) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, Layman to T.C., 13 April 1928. Clearly the N.N.C. was regarded by Layman - who was a singularly harsh and unapproachable chief of the municipal N.A.D. during these years - as an organisation to be encouraged in opposition to the I.C.U. Xulu had been a member of the Durban Native Council. See Chapter 2, p.111 above.

deeper.⁽²¹⁾ The divisions between the I.C.U. yase Natal and the N.N.C. were exacerbated by the smear campaign conducted by Champion against John Dube in the I.C.U. yase Natal's mouthpiece, Udibi Lwase Afrika.⁽²²⁾

However, new challenges were to face this divided and often unrepresentative leadership of African political organisations in Durban. For over the following two years there was to be a heightening of urban African militancy which was to force the I.C.U. yase Natal, the A.N.C., the N.N.C. and later the Communist Party of South Africa (C.P.S.A.) to clearly define their positions vis-à-vis emergent urban popular classes. The main issue at stake was whether the leaders of these organisations were capable of making a radical shift of position in the face of the militant currents that were soon to be surging around them.⁽²³⁾ The "beer question" was to provide the central focus and symbol of the popular resistance to a wider system of local oppression in the most 'anti-British',⁽²⁴⁾ and violent town in South Africa.⁽²⁵⁾

(21) Dube refused to co-operate with the national A.N.C. under Gumede's presidency after 1927. Stephen Mini, also a founder member of the N.N.C., sided with Champion and Gumede against Dube in 1927, and became N.N.C. president in the same year. It was then that Dube set up his rival Natal congress. See. G.M. Gerhart and T. Karis, Political Profiles, p.25, p.35, p.89,

(22) Udibi Lwase Afrika, September 1927.

(23) See Philip Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress 1917-1920: The radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand'. This study has been drawn on for its comparative and analytical usefulness.

(24) Durban was frequently accused of betraying a tradition of British justice by African leaders and white activists. See, for example, Natal Archives, Commission of Enquiry into Durban Native Riots, July 1929 (hereafter referred to as the Native Riots Commission), Minutes of Evidence, p.443, Evidence of A.F. Batty.

(25) Of the three major urban centres in South Africa, Durban shows the highest number of African convictions for public violence during this period. See Appendix XVI.

Formal protests, petitions and resolutions taken at mass meetings had, prior to 1929, been directed at the municipal beer monopoly. Shortly after the 1926 N.A.C. resolution against monopolisation, ⁽²⁶⁾ the I.C.U. sent a petition to the Minister of Native affairs, signed by five hundred men and women who were 'sufficiently educated to write their names'. ⁽²⁷⁾ This protest drew out the main thread of the beer question, namely that 'the Corporation derives much revenue from the Natives but they do not proportionately contribute towards the Natives' needs'. The petition also pointed to the economic impoverishment of Africans in rural areas, and demanded that domestic brewing by women be allowed as an alternative to 'starvation at their kraals'. ⁽²⁸⁾ At a national level, the annual conference of the Location Advisory Boards' Congress in 1928 passed a resolution opposing the principle of the municipalisation of beer 'in view of the fact that Kaffir beer is being recognized as a commercial commodity in urban areas'. ⁽²⁹⁾ Undoubtedly these protests were as much rural as urban in origin.

In Natal's rural areas, impoverishment, starvation wages and the eviction of labour tenants were part of an everyday reality for most rural Africans. A devastating drought seared its way through Natal in 1928 and compounded the already desperate economic conditions of Africans in the countryside. It was during this period that vast numbers of rural Africans joined the I.C.U. whose leaders were attempting to organise

(26) See Chapter 3, p.149 above.

(27) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.344, Evidence of Champion.

(28) D.J. K22 B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29, Petition of Durban Natives against the Durban System of Supplying Natives with Kaffir Beer, 1927.

(29) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1, Report of the Location Advisory Boards Congress, Queenstown, 20 December 1928. Durban, having no Advisory Board, was not represented at the Congress.

in the rural areas.⁽³⁰⁾ As I.C.U. yase Natal member Gilbert Coka realised, Africans in the countryside saw the Union as their only hope of 'salvation' from devastating poverty. I.C.U. organisers were hailed in feverish, near-millennarian terms.⁽³¹⁾ By 1928, the I.C.U. yase Natal had a membership of 88 000. According to Champion, the Durban branch alone had 56 000 members,⁽³²⁾ although another estimate put this figure at 37 000.⁽³³⁾ In May 1928, a boycott of municipal beer was noted in Greytown, one of Natal's small rural towns. The boycott was apparently initiated by African women who invoked traditional notions regarding beer brewing, and asserted this practice as their right.⁽³⁴⁾ In Durban and its peri-urban areas, the articulation of similar notions which challenged the ideological underpinnings of the municipal beer monopoly, emerged during the same period. Popular beliefs such as those which held

(30) See Helen Bradford, 'Strikes in the Natal Midlands: Landlords, labour tenants and the I.C.U.', pp.2-25.

(31) For a vivid account of the impact of the I.C.U. in the impoverished countryside in the late twenties, see G. Coka, 'The Story of Gilbert Coka of the Zulu Tribe of Natal, South Africa', in M. Perham (ed.), Ten Africans, (London, 1936), pp.293-297. Coka was active in the I.C.U., witnessed the secession of the Natal branch and later became Assistant District Secretary for the I.C.U. on the East Rand. According to Coka, the arrival of I.C.U. organisers in rural areas was hailed as 'the most important event since Dinizulu's death'.

(32) See Wickins, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, p.151.

(33) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.307-08. Evidence of Detective Sergeant R.H. Arnold (C.I.D.). This represented the number of registrations to date rather than at a particular time. Estimates of the membership of the I.C.U. yase Natal are problematic since membership records were poorly kept. In August 1929 R.H. Arnold claimed that the I.C.U. yase Natal only had a membership of 2 342. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.288.

(34) See Helen Bradford, 'Lynch Law and Labourers: The I.C.U. in Umvoti, 1927-1928', Paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p.32 and p.39, note 91.

that municipal beer was more expensive than domestic brews,⁽³⁵⁾ and further, that municipal beer did not taste the same as a traditional brew,⁽³⁶⁾ were to provide an essential part of the terrain upon which more articulate popular opposition could be based.⁽³⁷⁾ Similarly, the drinking culture which survived in Durban and its outskirts was to provide a crucial part of the context for this resistance. Economic depression in the countryside already provided another part.

Shebeens, the Sydenham Beer Hall and the I.C.U. yase Natal

In Durban's peri-urban areas the brewing of beer and more potent concoctions such as isigata or isitshimiyane was rife. In 1928, 1 645 Africans were arrested for drunkenness in Durban. Sixty percent of these arrests were effected between Saturday evening and Sunday morning, close to the Borough boundary, indicating clearly the source of supply: the shebeens in Mayville, Greenwood Park, Sydenham (See Map 2) and the other peri-urban areas where, according to the Chief Constable, 'drunken orgies' were held weekly.⁽³⁸⁾

(35) See, for example, Pretoria Archives, Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932 (hereafter referred to as the N.E.C.), Minutes of Evidence, p.1560, Evidence of W.W. Ndhlovu.

(36) One commonly used name for municipal beer, mgombothi, literally meant 'bad beer'. During the boycott of municipal beer in Durban between 1929 and 1931 it was widely believed by Africans that municipal beer contained poisonous chemicals or was "doctored". See for example, Natal Advertiser, 5 July 1929.

(37) See G. Rudé, Ideology and Popular Protest, (London, 1980), pp.7-33. Following Gramsci, Rudé posits that the less structured ideas of the fundamental classes, "often contradictory and confused and compounded of folklore, myth and day-to-day popular experience", provide the essential terrain upon which the acquisition of a consciousness of "positive struggle" is based.

(38) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, C.C. to T.C., 14 February 1929. The number of Africans arrested for drunkenness for the years 1926 and 1927 were 984 and 890, respectively. Also see Natal Advertiser, 4 February 1929.

One response of local authority was to close down yeast factories in terms of Liquor Act No.30 of 1928 and, on the other hand, to admit that the 'civic value' of the Durban system was 'not so much the particular reduction of arrests for drunkenness but the general betterment of the Native in relation to his presence in the Borough'.⁽³⁹⁾ Up until this time the Durban system had been ideologically justified on the basis of its apparent reduction of African drunkenness.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Areas such as Sydenham were officially described as being in a 'terrible condition'. Large numbers of African people who had been forced off white farmers' lands, found refuge on peri-urban tenements or in shacks owned by Indians. Eviction was reportedly proving 'an impossible task', especially since these areas were also populated by a large number of African women who had become 'permanent urban-dwellers'.⁽⁴¹⁾ This picture was true of the main peri-urban areas of Sydenham, Greenwood Park, Mayville and Umhlatuzana which were all administered by Local Administration and Health Boards. Sydenham had an estimated African population of 15 000 in 1929. Only a very small minority (perhaps not more than 1 000) of these people worked in the district itself. In an apparent attempt to lessen the 'isitshimiyane evil', which was firmly rooted in Sydenham, the Health Board made an application for a beer hall in August 1928.⁽⁴²⁾ In 1924, Sydenham had been declared a Health Board area, administered independently of the Borough of Durban.

(39) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, Layman to T.C., 14 February 1929. This was an important admission that, in one sense, the system had "failed".

(40) See Chapter 2, p.94 above.

(41) See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6174-6176, Evidence of H.C. Lugg; and pp.6307-6309, Evidence of Mrs Makanya.

(42) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.4, Evidence of H.S. Fynn; and p.27, Evidence of C.W. Lewis, Secretary of the Sydenham Local Administration and Health Board.

The first suggestion of opposition to the Sydenham beer hall emerged at a meeting on 2 December 1928 when Durban's Native Commissioner, H.S. Fynn, explained to 5 000 Africans the change in status of his office. Taking an opportunity of addressing this large crowd, A.W.G. Champion claimed that he did not see why they should purchase their beer from the municipality since 'Native beer was their national beverage which they should be allowed to make themselves'.⁽⁴³⁾ On the 23 December, Fynn addressed 200 Africans in Sydenham itself, asking if there were any objections to the proposed beer hall. A deputation of four men, led by Chief John Mtembu, informed Fynn that there were no objections to the beer hall. However, shortly afterwards, Mtembu submitted to Fynn a document entitled the General Opinion of the People which merely gave conditional assent to the erection of the beer hall. The conditions stipulated were: (i) that African women should be allowed to make the beer 'so that real stuff for native beer will be secured'; (ii) that people in the district be given priority in so far as trading was concerned; (iii) that the Chief (i.e. Mtembu) should be given a supervisory position; (iv) that a 'committee of twelve' should work with the Health Board, and (v) that home-brewing be allowed 'when the time comes to build homes'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Durban's Native Commissioner paid little attention to this resolution and on 8 March 1929 permission to erect the beer hall was forthcoming from central government.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The granting of a beer hall to the Sydenham Health Board effectively enforced prohibition in an area where shebeens had previously proliferated amongst a population of up to 15 000, some of whom, according to the Manager of the municipal

(43) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.4-5, Evidence of H.S. Fynn. Significantly, when Dube attempted to address the meeting, he was shouted down.

(44) D.J., K22.B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29, Native Committee Sydenham to municipal N.A.D., 31 December 1928. The Committee comprised John Mtembu, George Kuswayo, Masala Nyawose and N. Msomi.

(45) Government Gazette, 8 March 1929, Government Notice No.428.

N.A.D., had 'been there for twenty years' and were likely 'to be there twenty years longer'.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The illegality of brewing in the area was questionable since part of Sydenham fell outside the five-mile limit of the Borough boundary.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In any event, the S.A.P., who were responsible for policing the area, had been fighting a losing battle against liquor brewers and shebeens. Resistance to the erection of the Sydenham beer hall was much greater than anticipated by either the municipal N.A.D. or the Health Board, and certainly extended further than a mere 200 people present at a meeting presided over by a "tribal" authority such as John Mtembu.

The I.C.U. yase Natal was approached by Africans in Sydenham to take up the issue and in the first formal protest to the Secretary of the Health Board, A.W.G. Champion wrote:

We protest against any Local Health Board making attempts to obtain monies from the low paid natives for the purpose of financing their funds for their own advancement, at the expense of the voiceless members of our Community who have suffered untold pains at the hands of certain people who are out to make them a football. We object to have our growing people to be taught by Europeans to drink Kaffir Beer. We feel that this is the step destined to deteriorate our race (and) obtain money from the Natives who will not resist such a temptation. (48)

It has been claimed by Peter Wickins that Champion "was casting around for a suitable grievance to exploit in the interests of reviving the I.C.U's following in Durban",

(46) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.43, Evidence of T.J. Chester. Estimates of the population of Sydenham (and other peri-urban areas) varied.

(47) On the legality of domestic brewing prior to Government Notice No.428, see Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.35-43, Evidence of C.W. Lewis.

(48) Quoted in Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.25, Champion to Secretary of the Sydenham Local Administration and Health Board, 4 May 1929.

and that his focus came to rest upon the beer issue. (49)
 This assertion tends to obscure the context in which Champion and the I.C.U. yase Natal were operating. Since 1925, demands that the monopoly system be dismantled had been regularly endorsed at mass meetings. Widespread illicit brewing and drinking indicated, albeit implicitly, a form of opposition to the monopoly. Numerous meetings in Sydenham during March, suggested the level of grassroots mobilisation around the Sydenham beer hall issue. At each of these meetings, at which fierce opposition to prohibition was articulated, the numbers were seldom below 200. (50)

On successive Sundays in May, groups of Africans numbering between 300 and 800 marched from the I.C.U. Hall in Prince Edward Street (see Map 1) out to Sydenham where mass meetings were held with the inhabitants of the area, who were described by the District Commandant of the S.A.P. as 'inveterate shimiaan drinkers' of 'criminal habits'. (51) A witness of the 5 May march described it in the following terms:

They were an organised body - headed by a brass band preceded by a native in Highland costume - a kilt. They had a Union Jack and a red flag with a hammer and sickle on it. It is a Soviet symbol I believe. Many of them were dressed in uniform and carried sticks in military positions. They kept step and paraded as a military body. (52)

In a sense this description captures the essential character of the period of militant opposition to the Durban system.

(49) Wickins, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, p.191. The De Waal Commission Report followed a similar line of explanation. See p.188 below.

(50) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.14, Evidence of H.S. Fynn.

(51) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.153, Evidence of G. Baston, District Commandant of the S.A.P.

(52) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.24, Evidence of C.W. Lewis.

The protagonists appeared at once to be a model, and a parody, of military discipline, a drawing together and articulation of a range of ideological elements to form a subversive whole.⁽⁵³⁾ The marches which characterised the demonstrations of Durban's African urban popular classes over the following months were deeply tinged with the elements observable in the marches of May 1929, especially in their military aspect. This military character caused distinct alarm amongst white authority. The S.A.P. District Commandant remarked that 'the Native individually may be alright ... but ... when Natives get together they immediately become imbued with the idea of marching about playing at soldiers'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In a telling rejoinder to this, Champion was later to claim that the Corporation had taught Africans to march in this way.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Over time these "idioms of the masters" were to give way, to some extent, to a more coherent popular consciousness.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The columns of workers which tramped out to Sydenham were headed by the I.C.U. yase Natal's informal 'police force',

(53) As early as 1903 Chief Constable Alexander had made attempts to control African dancing in Durban. Zulu dance forms such as ngoma had their roots in rural military traditions. Undoubtedly it was their military aspect which drew official attention. Liberal organizations were later to monitor this form of popular cultural expression. See Chapter 6, pp.272-7 below.

(54) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.170, Evidence of G. Baston. In the past a great deal of energy had gone into legislating against the carrying of sticks. See Chapter 2, p.107 above.

(55) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.347-48, Evidence of Champion. Champion referred to an incident when Africans were marched by the Corporation from Albert Park to the Town Hall Monument.

(56) See T.O. Ranger, Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970 (London, 1975), pp.1-15. Ranger points out that since "the masses" did not control formal means of articulating desires, they made use of the "idioms of the masters" and at the same time were both spontaneous and creative. He argues this thesis in relation to the Beni Ngomas.

described as the Unity League or the 'Mob Crowd', dressed in red uniforms. (57) 'Hostile' speeches were made in Sydenham and returning to Durban, groups of Africans under the influence of isitshimiyane challenged the police to stop them and left in their wake a trail of assaults on motorists and housebreaking. At the first of these meetings on 5 May, an Anti-Kaffir Beer Manufacturing League was formed. The stated aim of the League was to protest against the manufacturing of beer by local authority, 'for the purpose of obtaining monies from the poorly paid Natives without complying with the legal requirements of the Act (of) 1923'. (58) Once again, the connection between beer profits and housing was made. Moreover, it was asserted, municipal housing merely segregated wives from husbands and bred crime. (59) While Champion and James Ngcobo (a member of the I.C.U. governing body) were prime movers in the establishment of the League, with them they carried individuals who had been part of the 'tribal representatives' originally consulted by H.S. Fynn, as well as large numbers of inhabitants of Sydenham who were calling for the institution of domestic brewing.

The Durban Town Council had initially expressed objections to the establishment of a beer hall in Sydenham. The suburb was not proclaimed in terms of the Urban Areas Act and there-

-
- (57) The Unity League (also known as the I.C.U. Volunteers) comprised a body of up to 150 I.C.U. members whose aim was 'to keep law and order within the ranks of the members of the organisation'. The leaders of the League wore red uniforms and carried sticks. Their 'captain' was J.H. London and later Mzazi Dhlamini. The I.C.U. Women's Auxiliary served a similar purpose as the League, both armed themselves with sjamboks and sticks and were conspicuous at I.C.U. yase Natal gatherings. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.286, Evidence of R.H. Arnold.
- (58) D.J., K22 B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29, Document entitled Anti-Kaffir Beer League, 5 May 1929. See also University of Cape Town, Forman Papers, BC 581, B5.17, Pamphlet entitled 'Abelungu Notshwala'.
- (59) D.J., K22.B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29, Protest Meeting Against the Manufacture and Sale of Kaffir Beer, 5 May 1929

fore the Durban municipality could not appropriate revenue from the new beer hall.⁽⁶⁰⁾ However, with increasing popular militancy and the lateness of these objections, the issue appears to have fallen away. In early May, the Point beer hall had all its windows smashed and the overseer's office was raided, suggesting the connections being made by Africans between the struggles of those living in Durban and those living six miles from the Borough boundary, the majority of whom depended on wage labour in the town itself. Yet the hostility to symbols of oppression, such as the beer hall, were largely "spontaneous", as was the isolated violence of May. What formalistic articulation of grievances had occurred were limited to a petty bourgeois I.C.U. yase Natal leadership, an essential part of whose discourse was the idea that 'the masses' were 'easily led astray' and furthermore, that the beer monopoly was not an appropriate way of 'maintaining Western civilisation in the land'.⁽⁶¹⁾ Discussing "spontaneous movements", Gramsci has noted:

" It is simply the case that elements of "conscious leadership" cannot be checked, have left no reliable document ... in such movements there exist multiple elements of "conscious leadership", but no one of them is predominant or transcends the level of a given social stratum's ... "common sense". (62)

However, in June of 1929 and after, this "common sense" of Durban's African urban classes was to become partially fused with derived beliefs from the outside, in particular with the radicalized A.N.C., under the Natal stalwart J.T. Gumede. It was Gumede who brought the message 'Mayibuye!' - 'let (Africa) come back' - to Durban.⁽⁶³⁾ But clearly there was

(60) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, T.C. to Minister for Native Affairs, 23 May 1929; also S.N.A. to T.C., 30 May 1929.

(61) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.7, Champion to Sydenham Local Administration and Health Board, May 1929.

(62) See Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (eds.), Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, pp.196-97.

(63) This Africanist slogan became intertwined with the calls for a 'democratic Native republic', which emanated from the C.P.S.A. in 1929. See Eddie Roux, Time Longer Than Rope (Wisconsin, 1978), p.232.

no automatic progression from apparently "simple", commonsensical ideas to more sophisticated ones. The extent to which these "derived ideas" could take root, rested on the degree to which they were a distillation of popular experience in Durban, and in many senses this process of syncretism proved to be jagged and incomplete.

Spontaneity and Organisation: The 1929 "Beer Riots" in Durban

In late May, the Compound Manager at the Bell Street Barracks ordered the cessation of the brewing of mahewu, a nutritious non-intoxicating drink of fermented porridge, which had been continuing for some time at the barracks. A number of workers, in particular Mcijelwa Mnomezulu, complained that an Indian trader across the road from the barracks had been behind this prohibition. Mnomezulu initially attempted to organise a boycott of A. Mohammed's store and 'then tried to prevent Natives from entering the Beer Hall'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ In a climate which was rife with rumours of a proposed boycott of beer halls as a response to the erection of the Sydenham beer hall, the municipal N.A.D. bureaucracy was quick to act.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Makati Luhlongwana, induna of the barracks and also a sergeant in the Borough Police, informed the Compound Manager, who in turn informed the municipal N.A.D. of these rumours. Makati brought Mnomezulu before T.J. Chester, Deputy Manager of the municipal N.A.D., on 30 May. It was decided that Mnomezulu's togt badge be confiscated; however, the togt worker was not immediately informed of this decision. Chester explained why:

(64) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.44, Evidence of T.J. Chester. In fact the Indian trader had come into the barracks and overturned a drum of mahewu. Presumably the brewing thereof posed a threat to his business. See Minutes of Evidence, pp.423-24, Evidence of M. Mnomezulu. It appears that workers were also selling mahewu to supplement their low wages.

(65) T.C.F. Durban Native Riots, June 1929, Vol.43, File 323: 1, Chester to T.C., 15 June 1929.

There had been rumours that a boycott would ultimately take place ... or that it was being planned. The Manager (Layman) and I felt as we had obtained the evidence of the man at least who was preaching this boycott ... it would be inadvisable to lose sight of him immediately ... (66)

Twelve days later Mnomezulu was informed that his right to work (i.e. his togt badge) had been removed. This relatively trivial incident provided, in conjunction with a millenarian desperation in Natal's rural areas, the catalyst for a generalized surge or urban militancy directed against beer halls, the popular symbol of a more wide-ranging local form of oppression called the Durban system.

The tense atmosphere prevailing in the town was suggested on the 5 June when a power failure led to beer drinkers in Durban's main beer hall stampeding out of the building. A number of Africans were subsequently arrested, charged with public disturbance and fined a day later. Simultaneously with the confiscation of Mnomezulu's togt badge on 11 June, a meeting of togt workers at the Point put forward the idea of a systematic boycott of Durban's beer halls.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Indian storekeeper, in an attempt to quell the boycott of his store, appealed to Champion to intervene on his behalf; the response of the workers at the Point was to surround his car when he arrived at their barracks. Mnomezulu later claimed that he had nothing to do with the I.C.U. yase Natal until 'the other boys in the room, when they heard my badge had been withdrawn, said they would bring the matter up before Mr Champion ... as it was considered to be a matter which affected them all'.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Clearly, a collective response was

(66) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.46, Evidence of T.J. Chester.

(67) The knowledge of the confiscation of the badge was not yet known when this meeting was held. See T.C.F. Durban Native Riots, June 1929, Vol.43, File 323:1, Chester to T.C., 15 June 1929.

(68) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.424, Evidence of Mnomezulu.

emerging from an individual grievance, suggesting an on-going process of politicisation taking place amongst African workers.

At a meeting at the Point on 12 June, many workers were in favour of striking in protest at the badge confiscation. Champion, however, appeared indifferent. He reportedly stated that he would leave the decision to the workers and offered no suggestions. The beer issue was also discussed by the workers. The unanimous opinion was that municipal beer was 'no good'.⁽⁶⁹⁾ On this issue, Champion again appeared indifferent. However, on 13 June at a meeting at the I.C.U. Hall, the Anti-Kaffir Beer Manufacturing League, which had been established to mobilise against the erection of the Sydenham beer hall, began taking up issues in Durban itself. The League resolved to boycott Durban's beer halls so that 'general sympathy would go throughout the town'.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Although an I.C.U. yase Natal member, J.H. London (assistant secretary of the I.C.U. in Natal) chaired this meeting, the decision to boycott had clearly originated at the Point. Both J.T. Gumede and Champion, working through the League, 'pledged to support' African workers in organising a boycott of municipal beer halls.⁽⁷¹⁾ Not all those at the meeting were I.C.U. yase Natal members: dockworkers had taken a day

(69) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.187, Evidence of David Kumalo. Champion later said he had told workers that they should not strike as he was against this. See Minutes of Evidence, p.349.

(70) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.348-349, Evidence of Champion. Champion emphasised that the meeting of 13 June was not an I.C.U. meeting.

(71) Forman Papers, BC 581, B5.20, Resolution Moved by A.W.G. Champion, Seconded and Supported by J.T. Gumede and J. Mapumulo, respectively, 5 May (?) 1929. It is unlikely that this resolution was passed in May as it mentions the decision of workers in Durban to boycott municipal beer. If 5 May is the correct date then it would underline the emergence of a high degree of militancy amongst labourers in the town.

off work to discuss strategy,⁽⁷²⁾ and thus acted as a vanguard for fellow workers in the town. Thousands of pamphlets were put out by the League in which all Africans were told 'to part company with Kaffir beer ... not knowing what benefit they derive from it except to build compounds and barracks which are full of bad laws and disagreeable control'.⁽⁷³⁾ The corollary of the opposition to municipalisation of beer was a rejection of the system of urban control which had constellated around the monopoly. Although in places couched in terms of the moral arguments of a petty bourgeois leadership, the petition bore the stamp of growing worker militancy. The togt workers in particular, indicated a capacity for militancy which at a leadership level, tended to be supplanted by equivocation. When forced to articulate his position, Champion had claimed 'his Union did not advocate extreme measures'. In any event, it appears that at this time, workers in Durban and togt workers in particular, joined en bloc, the only organisation in Durban which could have any claim to be mass-based. This organisation was the I.C.U. yase Natal.

Pickets were established at the beer halls in Durban and at the beer hall at South Coast Junction (See Map 2). Sporadic violence flared up throughout the day of 14 June. A thousand-strong picket at the Point, armed with sticks, stoned the beer hall and compounds, and assaulted a S.A.R. induna who had entered the beer hall in an attempt to locate railway workers who had failed to arrive at work. Throughout Durban police and pickets clashed, and at the Point, it was only the intervention of Champion and A.F. Batty, a white activist who had been involved in the I.C.U. for some time,⁽⁷⁴⁾ which circumvented more extreme violence. Again Champion asserted

(72) See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.210.

(73) See Appendix XV for full content of the pamphlet.

(74) For Batty's earlier history see Native Riots Commission Minutes of Evidence, pp.438-440, Evidence of Batty.

the intermediary role he was particularly adept at assuming. His fear of the unanticipated popular militancy which began threatening the hold of the I.C.U. leadership began to show. (75)

While violence between pickets and the Borough Police was breaking out throughout the town, a deputation of four, comprising three togt workers: Mnomezulu, Dazu Zikali, Mtshelwa Ndhlovu and J.H. London, held a meeting with T.J. Chester. They protested at the confiscation of the togt badge, repressive conditions in municipal barracks and prohibition in Sydenham. Chester regarded London as 'decidedly truculent', his remarks being 'couched in extravagant terms' and the deputation as being unrepresentative of all workers. Chester stated that he was 'not prepared to listen to the deputation if it was going to adopt intimidating methods', (76) rejected them as unrepresentative and suggested that a more representative group return on the 17 June.

An underlying process of radicalisation which had become evident since the beginning of May, received further impetus from the arrival in Durban of the A.N.C. President, J.T. Gumede, (77) as well as through the activities of C.P.S.A. organizers, whose presence in the town had been felt since

(75) See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.443, Evidence of Batty.

(76) T.C.F. Durban Native Riots, June 1929, Vol.43, File 323: 1, Chester to T.C., 15 June 1929.

(77) Prior to his election as President, Gumede had gone to Brussels to attend a conference of the League Against Imperialism, and later in the year, to Moscow, where he had met Bukharin at the October revolution celebrations. This marked a period of close collaboration between the A.N.C., C.P.S.A. and a range of other organisations. See H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950 (London, 1969), pp.402-409.

January 1929.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The beginning of 1929 had seen the adoption by the C.P.S.A. at a national level, of a "radically new programme" which called for 'a South African Native Republic' to be achieved through a national revolution. This would pave the way to a classless society.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Based on a Comintern resolution, the practical basis for the implementation of the 'Native Republic' programme, let alone its theoretical grounding, was highly unrealistic. S.P. Bunting - Chairman of the Executive Committee of the C.P.S.A. - had pointed out the absence of a significant African middle class, the absence of a movement from below for such a programme and the moribund state of the A.N.C. - an important target of the policy.⁽⁸⁰⁾ However, its value as an imported slogan, akin to Gumede's claim in 1928 that he had found the 'new Jerusalem' in Russia, should not be underestimated. Whether the I.C.U. yase Natal discourse could be carried forward or drawn into another more "sophisticated" one, such as that of the 'Native Republic' was, of course, another matter which depended upon the state of ideological, political and economic struggle in Durban itself.

At a crucial meeting on Sunday 16 June at Cartwright's Flats - Durban's 'Hyde Park', as Champion called it - 8 speakers addressed a crowd of over 5 000 African workers. The three speeches which were transcribed by C.I.D. detectives, because

(78) These included Douglas Wolton, J. Diamond, M. Diamond, S.P. Bunting, C.F. Glass, (?) Silver, and (?) Green. In June 1929, Johannes Nkosi was sent to Durban as Branch Chairman of the C.P.S.A. Nkosi had been involved in the activities of the S.A.N.N.C. on the Rand in 1919 and also those of the African Federation of Trade Unions. He had been expelled from the I.C.U. for his communist sympathies. See University of Cape Town, Carter-Karis Microfilm Collection, Reel 13A, 2: XN47:96/2.

(79) For an examination of the programme, see M. Legassick, 'Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-34', unpublished paper, Syracuse University, 1973. For the programme itself, see Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 3A, 2: CCI:85/3, extract from the South African Worker, No. 596, 31 January 1929. The membership of the C.P.S.A. in 1929 was 3 000.

(80) See H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour, pp. 407-409. However, despite such criticisms, the C.P.S.A. "abided loyally by the Comintern ruling".

of their apparent radicalism, were those of Champion, Gumede and J. Mapumulo. The others who spoke were all I.C.U. yase Natal members.⁽⁸¹⁾ The juxtaposition of Champion's and Gumede's speeches are revealing and merit quotation at length.⁽⁸²⁾ Champion was the first to speak:

You are all here because you have heard that the beer has been closed in Durban ... the Natives who have decided that there should be no beer made in Durban are the Natives at the Point. They have closed the beer up because ... they are under very bad supervision ... The Natives at the Point are earning a very good salary ... Many Natives are drinking so much that they have lost their wives ... The I.C.U. has also decided to take part in the beer drinking problem ... (in 1908) Natives in Durban ... showed the Corporation that they could make money out of the beer halls and make more money by putting the Natives in gaol. You are all prisoners and slaves ... Beer is sin when you buy it, but when it is being made, they forget that it is sin, and all this dirty beer that they sell at the brewery, they said it is clean ... They say that this trouble was started by the I.C.U. ... but from today the I.C.U. is taking up the burden of the togt boys - and are willing to die with them ...

The volunteers of the ICU say that if they catch any Native going into the beer halls they are going to deal with him according to their own laws ... now that this beer business is on, many more (workers) will join (the I.C.U.) ... when I came (to Durban) I came as one of you, to work for you. We should get money in Durban and go and build homes outside ... Down with beer. (Loud cheers)

(81) With Tom Gwala (I.C.U. yase Natal) in the chair, other speakers included Dick Mate, Hamilton Msomi, J.H. Duiker, David Sitshe and Biyela (D.L. Bopela?). All occupied executive positions within the Durban Branch of the I.C.U. yase Natal, A.P. Maduna, Provincial Secretary of the I.C.U. prior to Champion, was also present.

(82) D.J., K22 B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29, Detective Constable A. Hobbs, Suspect Staff, C.I.D. to Officer in Charge C.I.D., 20 June 1929. The following extracts are to be found in this report.

Aware of note-taking detectives, Champion did his utmost to establish the I.C.U. yase Natal as the unchallenged representative of Africans. He denigrated the ex-Provincial Secretary of the Union, A.P. Maduna, as a stooge of Kadalie and the Independent I.C.U., and attempted to isolate Gumede as a representative of the A.N.C. Champion claimed that the President of the A.N.C., despite being a 'Communist', should be allowed to speak. Gumede's speech was more directed:

The I.C.U. has taken the place of the Congress (N.N.C.) absolutely in Natal, and that shows that officers of the (N.N.C.) were wrong to think they could think for other people ... if I want to become a Communist, I shall do so but I shall never cease to criticise what I think is wrong .. we still have to find out about (the C.P.S.A.). If we find they are alright, we will follow them, but we must open our eyes and think ... Now you have told the Corporation ... that you are alive and that you are not only niggers ... no more Kaffir beer shall be drunk ... you have done great work ... My advice to you ... come together as much as possible. The Organisations belonging to the Natives here in Durban, they must all be filled up ... how long are we going to pray and ask for one thing. Has God no ears? ... Now let us combine and take our freedom, and if the other fellow doesn't want to give it, let us take it ... Today the Black man and the poor White man is oppressed ... the money goes to the Capitalists ... then, work together for the National Independence of this country that there may be no more race discriminations.

Gumede closed by saying that the A.N.C. would soon be launching a national anti-pass campaign. The final speaker, J. Mapumulo, a teacher, spoke briefly:

All our Christians have come out from Jerusalem, and now this what you have started will spread all over Natal and beer will be finished in the halls ... if (Champion) told you to attack the sea you would obey him (cheers) ... I agree with Gumede ... close the beer down in every town.

Behind the speakers' tables stood the I.C.U. Unity League, many of whom were dressed in red coats. Their ranks stood in fours and wielded sticks, shields and clubs.

What emerges from the speeches is how the beer issue was integrated, most clearly by Gumede, into a wider concept of national struggle. According to Gumede, the struggle was as much about passes, 'unjust laws made by Hertzog' and exploitation, as about the beer monopoly and Mnomezulu's togt badge. Champion, at a more parochial level, had attacked particular forms of oppression in Durban itself, especially the municipal N.A.D. and Borough Police - 'a mob ... who know nothing'. However, Champion's claim that the togt workers were well-paid was both untrue and opportunistic.⁽⁸³⁾ He spoke slowly so detectives could make notes, and the extent to which he articulated the day-to-day lived experience of Durban's workers was circumscribed by his uneasy social and economic position as an educated property owner, and his differential experience of oppression. The beer issue was an integral part of grassroots grievances in so far as it related to a wider system of local oppression. Champion had made this connection clear. Undoubtedly, in the face of togt worker militancy, the leadership of the I.C.U. yase Natal had shifted from a position of relative indifference to the open advocacy of resistance to the monopoly and, as with the Independent I.C.U. meetings in East London during the same period, in all the speeches there was a "submerged realisation that violence might ultimately be the only means of altering the balance of power".⁽⁸⁴⁾ The general emphasis on the need for Africans to be organized was integral to the speeches: a significant part of Champion's speech, for example, comprises exhortations to join the I.C.U. yase Natal. As with the East London case,⁽⁸⁵⁾ however, the relative fragmentation of Durban's urban population did not

(83) See Appendix XIX.

(84) For related themes see W. Beinart and C. Bundy, 'The Union, the Nation and the Talking Crow: The Language and Tactics of the Independent I.C.U. in East London', unpublished paper presented to the Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, 18 May 1982.

(85) Beinart and Bundy, 'The Union, the Nation and the Talking Crow', p.3.

provide an appropriate base for an ideology of class-defined unity, although Gumede did suggest such a direction. What does emerge from the speeches, however, is a decided nationalistic emphasis, given the pervasiveness of institutionalised racial domination in South Africa. The 'new Jerusalem' free from slavery was more suggestive, in 1929, of a 'free black nation', than a classless, socialist society. Yet, given the differential articulation of ideological elements in the speeches, such differences were part of an ongoing process of struggle which were rooted in the economic reality of low wages, but having no single predictable outcome.

On 17 June, a deputation of 11 togt workers,⁽⁸⁶⁾ and J.H. London, visited T.J. Chester to present a list of togt workers' grievances. These were concerned with the immediacies of the work and living situation but which, in toto, comprised a more thorough attack on the whole of native administration in Durban. Objections to the generally appalling state of barracks and bleak living conditions were made. In addition, a more lengthy list of specific demands were placed before Chester: that (i) wives should be allowed to stay for two weeks; (ii) visitors in municipal accommodation should be allowed more time in order to pay rentals; (iii) togt badges should be abolished; (iv) the harsh measures of the Borough Police should cease, and (v) that tables in eating houses should be open on Sundays.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Thereafter, the issue of Mnomezulu's badge and the "monopoly" held by A. Mohammed on trade in the area, was taken up at length and the unanimous resolution to boycott beer, discussed.

While the meeting in Chester's office was being held, the

(86) Not all these men were necessarily togt workers working at the docks. The Bell Street barracks housed over 2 200 men of whom about one third were monthly servants.

(87) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.62-63, Evidence of T.J. Chester.

seemingly parochial complaints about the daily regimentation of workers' lives, the confiscation of a single togt badge, the role of induna Luhlongwana and an Indian trader's "monopoly", had given way to widespread picketing of Durban's beer halls which symbolically stood for all these grievances. Riots involving the Borough Police broke out as pickets armed with sticks and clubs enforced the boycott. The clashes ended in the wounding of three African policemen and the death of a white motorist named MacCabe. Things had developed too rapidly for Champion. Pettersen, an organiser of the C.P.S.A. and Durban Town Councillor for a brief period in 1929,⁽⁸⁸⁾ phoned the Chief Constable on Champion's behalf asking for police protection. Champion, accompanied by the Chief Constable and the District Commandant of the S.A.P., went to the most disaffected area, the Point, and informed over 1 000 armed Africans that '... there must be a stop to this ... your grievances will be considered by the proper authorities, and you are to discontinue the assaults'.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Apparently rank and file were leaving their "leader" behind. But by late afternoon, back at the I.C.U. Hall from whence Champion had come, a crowd of over 600 Whites had gathered assaulting any African in the vicinity and demanding 'blood for blood'. One African was beaten to death with pick-handles. Some of the vigilantes were armed with automatic

(88) Pettersen had come down from the Transvaal as a C.P.S.A. organiser. He was a ship chandler and owned a small-holding in Westville. Pettersen appears to have been active in the Night School movement in Durban. He had attended I.C.U. meetings but had taken no active part and seems to have been critical of Champion. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.256-57. An African colleague of his, 'John' (Johannes Nkosi?) was 'teaching the Red Flag' at Night Schools and being paid 15s. a week by Pettersen. There were many night schools in Durban which were widely patronised. A 'large percentage' of Africans in Durban could read and write.

(89) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.229, Evidence of W.A. Alexander, Chief Constable. Champion had said that grievances should be brought before the Town Council 'in a proper constitutional manner'.

pistols and small arms. The Hall was the prime target of these whites, for they believed that the two white activists, Batty and Pettersen, whom they regarded as traitors, were ensconced inside. In fact, the two "agitators" had left earlier and remaining inside the Hall, were sixty African men, women and children who had taken refuge there. The intervention of the Borough Police, armed S.A.P. on foot and horseback, the Mayor and the Chief Magistrate, temporarily alleviated the dangerous situation. However, the word had spread amongst Durban's Africans of the besieged Hall in the middle of the town.

Groups of Africans, hearing of the "siege", converged on the centre of town. Of all the Bell Street inhabitants, only eight told the induna that they were not going to march upon the hall, the rest, about 1 300, left armed, in two columns, for Prince Edward Street. Amongst them were many ricksha pullers dressed in the uniform of their occupation. Similar bodies of workers left from all municipal quarters in Durban, including the Depot Road Location and the Dalton Road and Maydon Wharf barracks. By the time these disparate elements had come together in Prince Albert Street they numbered 6 000. At one end of the street were 360 policemen nearly half of whom were African. A group of white vigilantes, which by evening numbered close on 2 000, accompanied these policemen.

Police sources stated that the vigilantes comprised of the 'well-educated', 'the elderly', in fact 'every class' including a large white 'hooligan element'.⁽⁹⁰⁾ At the other end of the street, 6 000 Africans from all parts of the town and all occupations had gathered. The clash between the two sections, when it finally came late at night, was violent. Although the S.A.P. and Borough Police subsequently laid blame for shooting on the "vigilantes", this was clearly

(90) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.163-64, Evidence of Baston. This description of the riots has been assembled from 450 pages of evidence.

untrue - the police did carry weapons, and as Captain Baston noted, 'a revolver has a most steadying effect on a certain class'. It was also claimed that a few Africans carried guns. The casualty figures were 120 injured and 8 killed. Six of the dead were Africans. Later the following day, whites entered the I.C.U. Hall and ransacked it.

Popular Protest and the Native Riots Commission

George Rudé, in an insightful précis of the nature of social protest in the transitional period between pre-industrial and industrial society, has noted:

Those engaging in popular disturbances are sometimes peasants ... but more often a mixed population (the lower orders), they (are) captained by men whose personality, style of dress or speech ... mark them out as leaders. They are fired ... by memories of customary rights or a nostalgia for past utopias or by present grievances or hopes for material improvement ... they dispense a rough-and-ready kind of "natural justice" by breaking windows ... storming markets, burning their enemies ... in effigy ... the riot then is the characteristic and ever-recurring form of popular protest, which on occasion, turns into rebellion or revolution. (91)

Significant elements of the discourse of Durban's popular classes for the period under discussion could be characterised in the above way. Champion dressed generally in a short double-breasted waistcoat and Oxford bags, and was often seen smoking a large cigar. His main 'lieutenants', who wore red-trimmed coats with red bow-ties, provide an illuminating parallel with the characteristics of leaders outlined by Rudé. The leaders of the beer hall pickets wore khaki clothes which included riding breeches. The Unity League also wore striking uniforms, and were responsible for 'carrying out justice', as Champion put it, according to 'our own law'. (92)

(91) G. Rudé, The Crowd in History (London, 1981), pp.5-6; Also cf. E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels, pp.108-125.

(92) See footnote 57 above.

J.H. London was invariably described as 'truculent', as perhaps, any "agitator" threatening authority might be. But of Champion's flamboyant manner and personality, there is little doubt, as his speeches, letters and publications reveal.⁽⁹³⁾ Margery Perham described Champion on first visiting him:

He breaks into stomp oratory, shouting and banging his fist at the least provocation. His head is swimming with self-esteem and his outlook distorted by egotism. (94)

A crucial element which came to the fore both during and after the riots was the assertion of beer-brewing as a traditional right, particularly of African women. The white man could have his whisky but the African had a right to prepare and have his 'national beverage'.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The corollary of this was that municipal beer was bad. It contained chemicals which 'burned the insides' of the drinker and made him ill. Not only was the monopoly seen to be a source of exploitation, but it produced "bad beer". Beliefs such as this, became unified within a popular discourse and served as an important means of underpinning and sustaining the continuing boycott.⁽⁹⁶⁾

(93) See, for example, articles in Udibi Lwase Afrika; also Forman Papers, BC 581, B6.49, Mehlomadala, My Experiences in the I.C.U. (Durban, c.1929).

(94) See M. Perham, African Apprenticeship (New York, 1974), p.194. This description was made shortly after the 1929 riots.

(95) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.151. Evidence of Baston. At the meeting on sand dunes at the Point on 16 June it was claimed 'they have no right to make and sell our own drink to us'.

(96) H. Kloot, the Borough Analyst, admitted that municipal beer would 'never taste as well as beer made by a Kaffir woman'. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.385. Until the 1950's the question of 'chemicals in beer' had common currency. See Interview with S.B. Borquin. Interestingly during the Cato Manor riots of 1959-60, utshwala became known as iBokwini indicating a close connection between Bantu Administration and utshwala brewed by the municipality. The beer hall in Cato Manor was burnt down during the riots. See Epilogue p.310 below.

The political importance of "the crowd" in East Africa has been noted by Furedi,⁽⁹⁷⁾ and van Onselen and Phimister, in evaluating the 1929 Bulawayo Location "faction fight", have gleaned some useful insights from the writings of Rudé.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Certainly, the pivotal importance of the increasingly heterogeneous urban crowd in the 1929 Durban riots cannot be underestimated. However, if the 1929 period does suggest a form of popular protest characterising the transition to a fully industrialised society, this "spontaneity" should be offset by those elements of resistance to the Durban system which reflect the emergence of more organised forms of protest. On the one hand, the I.C.U. yase Natal appeared to provide a crucial organisational structure for popular grievances and on the other, as an organisation whose generally autocratic and opportunistic leadership rapidly lagged behind in the face of popular militancy. How is it possible to explain these contradictory observations which appear to have equal validity? In Durban, those cultural responses of Africans which were generated by their lived relation to an urban environment, had in the past been predominantly defensive, or accommodating, in a variety of ways, of a particularly repressive system of urban control. However, as the urban environment came to occupy a more significant and larger part of the daily experience of the African population, this emergent urban culture became increasingly resilient to oppressive living conditions. The shebeen in urban and peri-urban areas constituted the lifeblood of this resilience. The very fact that the I.C.U. yase Natal began operating in Durban in 1925 suggests that it did coincide, at least to some extent, with the background assumptions and values, in short, the culture and consciousness of ordinary African people in Durban.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Moreover, this culture was assuming an increasingly

(97) Frank Furedi, 'The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Élite Politics', Journal of African History, Vol.14, No.2, 1973, pp.275-90.

(98) Ian Phimister and Charles van Onselen, 'The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity: A Case Study of the 1929 Bulawayo Location "Faction Fight"', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.6, No.1, October 1979, p.41.

(99) See B. Bozzoli, 'History, Experience and Culture:', pp. 16-34, for a useful examination of the relationship between "culture" and "resistance".

oppositional character. (100)

There has been a tendency to view the I.C.U. as a failure. For example, it became a populist movement instead of sticking to trade union principles, it was rife with clashing and opportunistic personalities at a leadership level, financially corrupt and supplied rhetoric in place of sound organisation. (101) Certainly, these criticisms are valid. However, there is one question which is seldom posed: in what ways was the I.C.U., and then the I.C.U. yase Natal, able to articulate African popular protest? Helen Bradford has supplied some useful answers to this question in her studies of the activities of the I.C.U. in rural Natal. (102) The leadership of the I.C.U. yase Natal in Durban was constituted from the ranks of a social grouping which occupied an uneasy position within capitalist social relations in the town. A thorough analysis along the lines suggested by Bradford (103) would most likely reveal that the tentative home of the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership in Durban, was to be found in the ranks of the African middle-class. However, by the late twenties the ravages of Pact government policies, compounded by economic depression, forced this aspirant middle class out of the back door and into the economic reality of working class life. This fact can account for the resonance the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership found with ordinary Africans in Durban in the late twenties. For a brief period, the I.C.U. yase Natal was able to channel and to provide a repository for

(100) See Introduction, p.5 above.

(101) See, for example, M. Legassick 'Class and Nationalism', p.8; also H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, p.356, pp.362-63; and P. Bonner, 'The Decline and Fall of the I.C.U. - A Case of Self-Destruction?', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, Nos. 6,7, 1974, pp.38-43.

(102) See Helen Bradford, 'Strikes in the Natal Midlands'; and 'Lynch Law and Labourers'.

(103) Helen Bradford, 'Petty Bourgeois or Proletarian: The Class Nature of I.C.U. Leadership in the Countryside'.

urban African militancy. In identifying with Durban's dominated classes, the I.C.U. yase Natal was able to recognise the potency of the beer issue within the context of an increasingly resilient popular culture, combined with the desperation of African workers who were being paid starvation wages.

Seen in this light, Wickins' notion that the 1929 riots were a product of Champion's machinations, does not offer much illumination.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Nor does the claim that the origins of the workers' struggle against the beer halls were "obscure".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Both observations tend to overlook the context provided by cultural struggles, and further, that leadership and organisations tend to be an expression of the potentialities established by a cultural context.

The leadership of the I.C.U. yase Natal and A.W.G. Champion in particular, rapidly lost control of the popular militancy which it had attempted to channel through the politics of mass meetings. This groundswell opposition was informed by an emergent urban African culture and the symbolism and traditional practices of a mythical and real past. It ran headlong into police and white civilians' clubs and guns. Champion claimed that he wanted a 'dry race' and stated that if an advisory board was established there 'would be no further use for the I.C.U. yase Natal'. Finally, he asserted that he rejected communism because 'it would dispossess men

(104) See p. 166 above.

(105) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.208.

like myself who hold landed properties'.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ This series of disaffirmations was most likely not shared by the stick-wielding ricksha puller, the domestic servant in his calico uniform or the disaffected togt worker.

A Commission of Enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the riots was presided over by Justice de Waal in July 1929. The Commission report came out strongly against white civilians who had participated in the violence, but totally vindicated the Durban system.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Champion was regarded as the prime mover of the disturbances, 'a remarkable man ... capable of much good, or of infinite mischief'. The grievances of workers in Durban were regarded by de Waal as 'being of a trifling nature', which were exploited by Champion to 'foment trouble'. Much the same view had been expressed by S.A.P. District Commandant, G. Baston, when he claimed that Champion did not 'care a jot' about unscrubbed bathroom floors, as a 'professional agitator' he wanted workers' money.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Champion himself claimed that he had decided to use the beer issue to 'force the hand' of the Corporation so that they would attend to three main grievances, namely, the absence of a location, the beer monopoly and the absence

(106) See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 334-383, Evidence of Champion. Having sold land in New Guelderland for £600, Champion acquired a 'refreshment business' called 'Vuka Africa' in 1925. He was also the sole partner of a boot repairing and tailoring establishment which seems to have been another description for the much-publicised I.C.U. Cooperative Society. R.H. Arnold noted that Africans were encouraged to take out shares in the Cooperative Society and also that Africans wanted shares in the beer monopoly. See Minutes of Evidence, p.311(a). One pamphlet distributed by the Cooperative Society suggests the extent to which it was a vehicle for African entrepreneurs in Durban. See Forman Papers, BC.581, B22.5.

(107) See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Riots of Durban, 29 July 1929, (hereafter Report of the Native Riots Commission), An.133 - 1929 (Copy in Library of Parliament).

(108) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.178.

of an advisory board. As Champion moved further into the discourse of Durban's white bourgeoisie, so the underlying determinants of the disturbances were obscured from view, and the potency of beer as a symbol and economic practice of the 'Zulu nation', regarded as peripheral.

From the few available figures, wages, even in cash terms, had barely risen. In a number of instances they had remained the same or actually dropped, over a period of twenty-two years.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Work registrations had also shown a steady decline since 1925.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Underpinning and fuelling the violent resistance of 1929 lay the reality of ultra-low wages and economic hardship. It was a reality which de Waal quickly glossed over. As Bennet Gwabini, Administrative Secretary of the I.C.U. in Johannesburg noted:

Kaffir beer is not the only cause of the people causing this hubbub. There is something more than Kaffir beer. The women folk at home are aware of the fact that their husbands are working in Durban ... they know that there is Kaffir beer in Durban brewed by the Municipality ... husbands are not sending money to their women-folk, nor are they paying dipping fees ... unless some law is in force whereby people can be paid a living wage ... the Municipality should not be allowed to brew Kaffir beer ... people are allowed to drink as much as they can ... (when) they are drunk they are brought before the Magistrate and fined. (111)

The responses of Africans in Durban to both the highly repressive Durban system and to the lowness of wages were part

(109) De Waal claimed that African wages were 'uniformly good' but the opposite view is suggested by Appendix XIX.

(110) See Appendix XX.

(111) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.435, 36, Evidence of B. Gwabini. Significantly Gwabini was a close ally of W.G. Ballinger. Both were attempting to reassert the I.C.U. as a trade union and not a populist movement which it clearly, in Durban at least, had become. See P.L. Wickins, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, p.176. Gwabini strongly opposed Champion's view that the I.C.U. was expendable.

of a more general economic reality embracing town and countryside, as the attacks on beer halls in Natal's smaller towns were to indicate. (112)

On the key features of the Durban system there was to be no compromise. Since 1909 the net revenue from beer profits had amounted to £551 121 of which only £7 681 had been spent on 'native welfare', primarily schools. The remainder of the revenue had been ploughed back into worker accommodation and the infrastructure of the system itself - the beer halls, the breweries and municipal housing. The barracks themselves were officially deemed clean and healthy. De Waal claimed that:

The rooms are well-ventilated, each containing sixteen bunks, the natives supplying their own bedding. The bunks which are portable, are weekly taken to a place set aside for that purpose where they are thoroughly disinfected and deverminised. (113)

The food was wholesome and cheap, the shower sections left nothing to be desired; in short:

The housing facilities in force at Durban, and as supplied by the Borough are a model which might well be emulated by other large urban centres. (114)

It is revealing to contrast Margery Perham's observations with those of the Commissioner. Both scrutinized African living areas during the same period; the former emerged with a remarkably contrary perspective when she linked living conditions to workers' wages:

We went on and visited the married quarters area and poked into houses. I won't describe them ... (the municipal official) admitted that he had only a hundred houses and that he had thousands of applications ... Now he cannot

(112) See p.198 below.

(113) Report of the Native Riots Commission, pp.2-3.

(114) Report of the Native Riots Commission, p.3.

build any more, because without the help of the profits from the beer halls the Council will not face the capital expenditure. These profits must have been enormous ... the native pays out of his wretched wages ... if you say that it amounts to subsidizing the employer and allowing him to pay inadequate wages, the answer is that all whites are directly or indirectly employers ... a general rise of wages ... would cripple (white) South Africa. (115)

This was part of an overall picture which de Waal failed to recognise.

Admitting to the existence of 'minor grievances' of Africans, the Report claimed that C.F. Layman as head of the municipal N.A.D. was always approachable. In fact Layman was exceptionally autocratic, he had refused to have any contact with Champion, let alone minister to the grievances of the wider African population. John Dube, not surprisingly perhaps, since he was on good terms with Layman, found no fault with the municipal N.A.D. He merely sympathised with 'the native people in regard to the way they had been treated'.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The grievances of workers were regarded as 'utterly devoid of any substance'. The deaths of Africans were ascribed to white civilians and the police had reportedly acted with 'commendable restraint'. For de Waal an 'undoubted benefit' of the monopoly was that revenue accruing from the sale of Kaffir beer was 'spent in various ways upon the Native himself and for his benefit', even though he respected Champion as a teetotaler and his desire to see a 'dry race'. J.T. Gumede rejected this spurious teetotalism utterly, saying that Africans should have control over brewing.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ On the question of domestic brewing the Commissioner remained

(115) M. Perham, African Apprenticeship, pp.194-95. The official is referring to the continuing boycott of municipal beer halls.

(116) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.409, Evidence of John Dube. The repressive character of the municipal N.A.D. and its Manager emerges as a dominant preoccupation of nearly all African witnesses.

(117) See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.422, Evidence of J.T. Gumede. Champion's stated 'teetotalism' was in direct contradiction to his earlier stand on home-brewing. See p.165 above.

intransigent, claiming that it would lead to the proliferation of brews such as isitshimiyane, skokiaan and kekeviki.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In response to a threat from below which sought to re-define beer-brewing, the Commission reiterated the well-worn notion of beer as a national beverage of high food value, which was supplied under healthy conditions. The Commissioner's report, by extruding all elements which might make an agitator thesis implausible, described Champion as a 'communist sympathiser'⁽¹¹⁹⁾ who was, to a large degree, responsible for the disturbances and beer boycott. The main recommendations of the Commission were that (i) a location be established for married workers ('better class natives', in Champion's words); (ii) that places of recreation be provided, and (iii) an advisory board be established in terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Significantly, it was strongly recommended that 'no alteration be made in the present system of the brewing of Kaffir beer by the Borough for sale to natives'.⁽¹²¹⁾

The Commissioner had lucidly grasped the monopoly as the material platform of Durban's system of urban control, and espousing the old arguments about its effectiveness in combatting

(118) Report of the Native Riots Commission, p.20. De Waal claimed it would be impossible to maintain control over 38 000 African brewers.

(119) Report of the Native Riots Commission, p.18. The Report stated that it was 'idle' for Champion 'to profess his abhorrence of communistic doctrine' since he had, with silent approval, allowed Communists to address meetings of the I.C.U. yase Natal and sell copies of Umsebenzi to the Union's members. A paper and a book dealing with Communism was found by Arnold in the I.C.U. Hall. Champion does seem to have been fairly relaxed in his dealings with C.P.S.A. members during this period.

(120) Report of the Native Riots Commission, pp.19-21. De Waal also asked that clemency be shown to Africans in the case of their being prosecuted for any actions which occurred during the riots.

(121) Report of the Native Riots Commission, p.19.

drunkenness as a justification, he recommended that the system undergo no changes whatsoever. There could be no compromise on the monopoly system despite the cracks which were emerging through the continued boycott of the beer halls.⁽¹²²⁾ The principle of monopoly was thus found to be unflawed. The subsidization by Africans of the social cost of their dwelling in the town, as well as the financing of Borough Police salaries and those of other officials, depended upon a Native Revenue Account which showed a large surplus.⁽¹²³⁾ It was precisely this discovery by the Commission which shielded the Durban system from subversive criticism. The categories of explanation provided by de Waal, and indeed those of Durban's white bourgeoisie,⁽¹²⁴⁾ were to prove inappropriate to the reality which they attempted to apprehend.

The year of 1929 was one of profound politicisation of ordinary African people in Durban. The strength of the boycott, daily apparent in the empty beer halls of Durban, testified both to this fact and to the resilience of an emergent urban African culture which provided the essential context for the brief and continued sorties of the I.C.U. yase Natal into the day-to-day subsistence issues of Africans in Durban. Durban's Native Revenue Account, until 1929 the only one in South Africa which was both self-balancing and surplus producing,⁽¹²⁵⁾ for the first time in its history began to indicate a state of severe crisis. Also for the first time in the history of Africans in Durban, a systematic attempt was

(122) See Appendix XII. Beer revenue for August 1928 was £4 671. In August 1929, beer revenue was less than £2. See Native Administration Committee Report Book, October 1929.

(123) Between 1925 and 1930, white municipal employees received over £127 000 in salaries, wages and allowances from the Native Revenue Account. See T.C.F. Native Revenue Account, Vol.49, File 476, jkt.1, Statement on Native Revenue Account, c.1932.

(124) The Natal Mercury firmly subscribed to the belief that agitators, closely linked to the 'Red Peril' of Moscow, were at work in Durban. See, for example, Natal Mercury, 19 June 1929.

(125) See also The Durban Housing Survey, pp.303-04.

made to incorporate certain sections of the population into the structures of the local state: plans to establish a Native Advisory Board were made. By October 1929, a Native Administration Committee - comprising Town Councillors, three of whom were to sit in conjunction with the N.A.B. - had been established.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In late 1929, some 3 000 acres of land was bought at Clairwood by the Town Council for £220 000. It was here that the long-promised location, later to be known as Lamont, was to be built.⁽¹²⁷⁾

The Beer Boycott and the Response of the State

Among the more immediate repressive responses of the local state to the trajectory of African opposition in 1929 was to obtain the approval of the Minister of Justice for the banning of all public meetings in terms of Section 1 of the 1914 Riotous Assemblies Act.⁽¹²⁸⁾ By July, meetings were again being held at the Point and it was feared that the position could 'become dangerous again at any moment.'⁽¹²⁹⁾ Champion applied for permission to hold a meeting at the Point and thereafter at Cartwright's Flats on the 25 August. He claimed that he had 'no intention of creating any hostile feelings, other than to continue propaganda in furtherance of the aims and objects of the Union'. He also stated that Africans believed that local government 'had not given them their share since these troubles'.⁽¹³⁰⁾ On his side were

(126) See Appendix I.

(127) For the founding of Lamont see Chapter 6, pp.287-8. below.

(128) Natal Archives, Durban Magistrate's Records, (hereafter D.M.R.), File 1/9/2/1, Native Politics and Unrest - Disturbances June 1929 - December 1929. Telegram, Minister of Justice to C.M., 18 June 1929. This section only authorized the prohibition of specific meetings at a particular place.

(129) D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, C.M. to Secretary for Justice, 16 July 1929.

(130) D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, Champion to C.M., 24 August 1929.

solicitors Cowley and Cowley, the I.C.U. yase Natal's old legal resource, who claimed such prohibition illegal. The Chief Magistrate and the municipal N.A.D. became alarmed at the ambiguity of the legislation to which they had recourse. A series of urgent correspondence between the Chief Magistrate and the Secretary for Justice was exchanged in an attempt to implement a ban on the meeting of the 25 August.

In fact the meeting went ahead and a crowd of over 2 000 listened to I.C.U. yase Natal leaders' speeches until the personal intervention of the Chief Magistrate, Chief Constable and District Commandant forced the crowds to disperse. The six main speakers were arrested. The general atmosphere prevailing in Durban can be gleaned from the words of the Chief Magistrate:

The position remains dangerous and is impossible to foresee what may happen, but unless a strong force of mounted men is immediately available, the chances are that the position will get beyond control ... and the European population will step in. (131)

The sentences of the six I.C.U. yase Natal veterans, ranging from two to three months imprisonment with hard labour, were harsh. (132) Shortly after their conviction, the presence of the Mobile Squadron, a well-trained and heavily-armed paramilitary unit from Pretoria, was sanctioned. Meetings in September went ahead under the sobering eye of the Squadron, but undoubtedly the continuing boycott of beer halls, the unabated activities of the C.P.S.A. in Durban and general

(131) D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, C.M. to Secretary for Justice, 26 August 1929. At the time of the meeting no written prohibition from the Minister had been forthcoming.

(132) J.J. Macebo, David Sitshe, J.A. Duiker, Mkamubane Mabeleka and Nkonka Veleqazi received two month's imprisonment with hard labour and the veteran I.C.U. member Tom Gwala, 3 months with hard labour. In the dock all the accused sang 'Nkosi Sikele Afrika'. See Durban Criminal Court Records, A Court, 1927-1932. Case heard on 28 August 1929. Informers held that if imprisoned, the men would cause a riot in the gaol, reports which the C.I.D. took very seriously.

disaffection of Africans, made the Chief Native Commissioner realise that repression would not be the answer:

If these meetings were forbidden ... the insidious propaganda would be driven under ground and out of sight where it would be difficult ... to keep any check upon it. (133)

The prohibition of meetings had also become associated with the boycott. Africans believed this prohibition was a direct response to the beer boycott.

African militancy in Durban was receiving an important stimulus from the activities of the C.P.S.A., under its Secretary in Durban, Johannes Nkosi. At meetings of the C.P.S.A. which had been held throughout August and September, Nkosi had been a prominent speaker. One rare record of a speech of his suggests the degree to which the I.C.U. and C.P.S.A. membership overlapped, providing the basis for an authentically popular movement:

Yesterday there were natives who did not like the I.C.U. or Communists, but on the day of the riots there was no difference between anybody ... This over the beer was a general beer strike, and we should also have a pass strike ... I am .. telling you that it is now time to unite, whether Basuto or any other race ... They won't look to see if a native is an I.C.U. or a Communist, they will shoot every black man ... there should be an Independent Black Republic ... the rulers of that Republic should be natives ... I am closing the meeting because the I.C.U. is holding a meeting next door. (134)

It is not unimportant that Champion had increasingly put emphasis on a black/white conflict calling for equality at every level of society and claiming that he 'would like to see a native as Mayor of the town'. (135) Again Champion was being

(133) D.M.R., File 1/9/2/1, Chief Native Commissioner to C.M., 30 August 1929.

(134) D.J. K22.B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, C.I.D. report on meeting, Bell St, 9 September 1929.

(135) Natal Witness, 3 March 1927, Interview with Champion.

pushed into a position approximating more closely, the form in which the 'Native Republic' thesis was being articulated.

On the other hand, the traditionalist N.N.C. under F.M. Xulu, Durban Branch Chairman, became even further distanced from this trajectory, the spine of which increasingly encompassed unemployed, marginalized and lumpenproletarian elements. As John Dube noted:

Town Natives are out of control, and the criminal element is increasing in large numbers. Law-abiding Natives cannot tolerate this state of things. ... The heterogeneous mixture of detribalized Natives ... is a problem within a problem. (136)

On occasion the Unity League had broken up N.N.C. meetings. The N.N.C. itself had encountered no opposition from local authority to the holding of its meetings. Furthermore, the N.N.C. passed a resolution claiming that it 'had no connection whatsoever with the beer boycott', reflecting the growing distance between the N.N.C. and popular opposition in Durban. (137) Ongoing radicalisation was cutting a swathe through African leadership. Champion negated the back-tracking which he had shown in giving evidence to the Commission, realising perhaps, the danger of becoming a fleck of foam on the back of the waves of opposition to the Durban system. The C.P.S.A., having drawn elements from the Native Republic programme, had turned them into slogans which were being echoed by African working people.

(136) Ilanga Lase Natal, 5 April 1929, quoted in Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.225.

(137) Apart from being Branch Chairman, Xulu represented the Sydenham Native Congress and interestingly, Natal Exempted Natives. By early 1931 the N.N.C. was described as having a membership of 200 representing 'the cream of Natives' as well as being 'most law-abiding'. The N.N.C. in 1929 would not present a very different picture. See D.J., K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, C.I.D. Report on Native Unrest, 30 March 1931. For the N.N.C. resolution see Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 3B, 2:DA19:41/2, F.M. Xulu to T.C., 6 March 1930.

By August 1929, the beer boycott had spilled into the countryside of Natal. The I.C.U. Women's Auxiliary (prominent in which was a woman called Mamdhlamini who was an associate of Johannes Nkosi),⁽¹³⁸⁾ had travelled out from Durban and mobilised African women in Natal's rural towns. In Ladysmith large numbers of women invaded the beer halls, 'singing and waving sticks, shouting "Bulala!" (kill)', and demanding the destruction of the premises. In Weenen similar attacks occurred and at Glencoe, 500 women attacked the Court Building with sticks. Specific incidents, not directly related to beer brewing, sparked off women's resistance in Loskop and Olivier's Hoek. At various stages in September the municipal beer canteens at Dundee, Weenen and Mooi River came under attack. At the numerous court cases and public meetings which were held during this period, the basis for the women's demonstrations against the beer monopolies in rural towns, emerges unequivocally. Farm evictions, dipping taxes and rural impoverishment, compounded by the onset of depression, had led to violent attacks on beer halls in rural towns. The operation of the monopoly system in Natal's rural towns served to further undermine the basis of African women's subsistence. As one woman said, 'We complain of the famine. We are starving', and further, that 'beer is our old food; the food of our forefathers ... when we make beer for ourselves the sergeant raids our homes'.⁽¹³⁹⁾ The Liquor Act of 1928 had made restrictions on home brewing even greater and the Durban disturbances had

(138) At the 8 September meeting Nkosi had introduced to the crowd an I.C.U. Auxiliary woman who could well have been Mamdhlamini. This woman was instrumental in closing the South Coast Junction and Sydenham beer halls, as well as being active in most of Natal's smaller towns - Ladysmith, Weenen, Estcourt and Glencoe.

(139) D.J., K22. B.1., Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Meeting held at Glencoe, Dundee District before Magistrate and D.C. S.A.P., 19 September 1929.

'led to a wide extension of feeling in this respect'.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Although rural impoverishment was not particular to Natal, the "liquor question", as G. Coka noted,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ was a 'peculiarity of Natal'. The emergence of more or less violent resistance to municipal beer halls in the late twenties was not only determined by rural impoverishment, but also by what was viewed as the monopoly system's unjust appropriation of part of working people's economic activity in town and countryside.

Echoing the sporadic violence in Natal's smaller towns, but in a more organised and sustained way, Durban's African population maintained the boycott with a systematic vigour. The Town Clerk noted with concern that 'the boycott of our municipal beer halls continues to the detriment of the revenue of the Native Revenue Account'.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Deficits were to be met from the Borough Fund (i.e. general revenue) and hence white property owners were called upon to subsidize the social costs of African labour for the first time. The Native Administration Committee suggested that 'in order to recompense the Department for loss of revenue through the non-sale of Kaffir beer ... charges levied for trading at various Native institutions (should be) considerably (increased)'.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Even in crisis, the reluctance to tax white

(140) D.J., K22.B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Chief Native Commissioner to S.N.A., 21 September 1929. The Liquor Act laid down that permission to brew on farms had to be obtained from the owner and the Magistrate. Where there was no owner, a blanket ban on brewing was imposed. In locations and reserves the possession of beer was illegal. In short: 'where women formerly could make a little beer, they now cannot do so'.

(141) G. Coka, 'The Story of Gilbert Coka', p.312.

(142) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, T.C. to T.C., Newcastle, 21 November 1929. Newcastle, also suffering violent attacks on its beer halls, asked for guidance from the "model town" of Natal.

(143) Natal Archives, Minutes of the Native Administration Committee, Book 3, 8 October 1929. Trading rents were ultimately not raised. It was also suggested that municipal housing rents be increased. See Minutes of the Native Administration Committee, Book 3, 24 March 1930.

property owners for native administration was strong. Alternative strategies for raising municipal revenue from Africans were devised. The Town Council adopted a threatening tone and stated that if the boycott continued, 'charges and fees in all directions would have to be considerably increased to meet the expenditure'. Only on the briefest of occasions was the boycott linked to the 'economic question', and the suggestion made that perhaps poor wages had something to do with popular militancy.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Even John Dube claimed that Africans were being treated 'worse than the white man's horse' and that wages were insufficient to maintain families.

While the municipal beer halls remained virtually empty, isitshimiyane and other illicit brews were freely available from shebeens in the neighbouring suburbs of Durban. As alternative sources of drink, shebeens and liquor dealers indirectly assisted in maintaining the beer boycott. This state of affairs attracted the ire of officials of the municipal N.A.D. and drew the attention of the Borough Police and S.A.P. During this period prosecutions for the possession of illicit drink rose dramatically.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ An apparently new source of alcohol was provided by the isitshimiyane produced on board fishing boats by African crew members.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

(144) Minutes of the Native Administration Committee, Book 3, 3 October 1929. A group of Africans regularly attended the meetings of the Committee. Generally these were the 'more responsible' members of the African community which included F.M. Xulu, John Dube (both N.N.C.), traders such as J. Ntuli and exempted Africans such as A.F. Matibela. It should not pass unnoticed that Champion also attended. These men were to become the core of the N.A.B. in 1930. See Chapter 5, below.

(145) Figures reflecting prosecutions for the possession of illicit brews shows a dramatic increase during this period. See Appendix XVII.

(146) See T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91, jkt.2, C.C. to District Commandant, S.A.P., 8 August 1929.

In June of 1929 the Chief Magistrate expressed the fears of the local state that 'the grievances regarding Kaffir beer regulations is only one of several which afford a ground for the reception of (Communist) ideas'.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ In the context of continued meetings, police raids on shebeens and the unyielding boycott of beer halls, the central government intervened on the side of the local state in a dramatic and repressive fashion. If anything, the boycott was becoming more recalcitrant. For example, African women in Durban led an attack on the Sydenham beer hall in order to assault any beer drinkers they might find.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ The state's fear of a united African popular front emerging on a national scale, was increased by the formation of the League of African Rights in 1929 with Gumede as President, and various other C.P.S.A. and I.C.U members on the executive. A United Front of the A.N.C., I.C.U. and C.P.S.A. members burnt an effigy of Hertzog in Johannesburg on the 10 November.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ In Durban itself the local press, particularly the Natal Mercury, began running editorials about the 'Bolshevik threat' in the form of the 'Native Republic'. Rumours of a gaol mutiny to be led by the six convicted I.C.U. yase Natal members, were spreading. Police patrols had been attacked in Sydenham and at the Point. The long-standing tension between the Borough Police - who were substantially subsidized by beer profits - and the S.A.P. did little to help matters.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In a series of statements taken from a wide range of Africans in Durban between September and November, evidence of intended arson and proposed mass resistance to police was gleaned.

(147) D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, C.M. to Secretary for Justice, 19 June 1929.

(148) Natal Mercury, 6 November 1929. Twenty-one women appeared in court on public violence charges.

(149) See H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour, pp.417-19.

(150) See D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, District Commandant, S.A.P. to C.M., 24 October 1929. In terms of the Liquor Act of 1928, the S.A.P. were also to be responsible for the suppression of illicit liquor traffic inside the Borough.

In one of these statements, Induna Makati Luhlongwana claimed that 'Natives in Durban today are solid ... if the I.C.U. was killed the position ... would cease'.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

Further evidence of large numbers of lumpenproletarian elements taking a leading role in resistance was also found. For example, Theodore Myeza, the Pietermaritzburg I.C.U. yase Natal Secretary, who had resigned because of I.C.U. collaboration with the C.P.S.A., spoke of alliances being made between Champion and amalaita gangs at C.D. Tusi's Dance Hall in Fountain Lane (See Map 1). The prevalent viewpoint among those interviewed was that large sections of Durban were to go up in flames and that there was to be a general strike. Finally, rumours of a pass-burning campaign, due for Dingaan's Day, were afoot. As the Natal Mercury put it, Durban had become the 'storm centre of South Africa'.⁽¹⁵²⁾ This precipitated a decisive intervention from the central government. If the consumption of municipal beer was voluntary, then payment of poll tax was not.

On 14 November the Mobile Squadron, which had been in Durban for three months and had played an important part in attempting to crush illicit brewing, was reinforced with extra men. The Minister of Justice flew into Durban from Pretoria, and at 3.30 am all municipal barracks were surrounded in order to check poll tax receipts in terms of the Native Development and Taxation Act. The tax law had openly been flouted in Durban where mass evasion had deprived the central state of a great deal of revenue.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Tear gas was used for the first time in South Africa when it was fired into

(151) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Sworn statements of 43 witnesses re Native Unrest - Durban, Sworn statement No.19, 12 November 1929.

(152) Natal Mercury, 16 November 1929.

(153) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.227-28. In 1928 Africans in Durban had paid £459 in taxes while Africans in the remote district of Msinga had paid £15 950. In the adjacent urban area of Pinetown, £13 645 had been paid in taxes.

municipal barracks. The raid itself was exceptionally violent. On the first day 6 000 workers were 'dealt with'. Two magistrates set up in the S.A.P. yard dealt with 739 cases of tax defaultment. Another raid on the 19 November in the Congella and Bluff areas produced 340 more tax-defaulters. In one week £5 000 in poll tax had been paid by Africans who, in fear of a month's imprisonment with hard labour, quickly paid taxes. A total of 2 000 arrests had been made in the Congella area alone and over 1 000 sticks were confiscated.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ The 700-strong Mobile Squadron made extensive sorties into Cato Manor, Sydenham, Puntan's Hill and Mayville - what the Chief Constable referred to as the 'happy hunting grounds' of isitshimiyane brewers - and thousands of gallons of alcohol were destroyed.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ In an unprecedented move, the Minister of Native Affairs issued a proclamation at the time of the raids, warning Africans against the continuance of the boycott,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ hinting that perhaps the patronage of beer halls was not as voluntary as supposed.

However, it was clearly understood by more perceptive representatives of the local state and the Government Native Affairs Department, that undiluted repression was not a viable basis for an effective form of local rule. The boycott was undermining the cheap social costs of labour: it was depriving the N.R.A. of crucial finances and forcing the burden onto protesting white property owners. Furthermore, the conditions which in the past had been secured in order to circumvent resistance to a forced reduction of living standards - which in essence the monopoly implied - had been undermined. Africans in Durban had struck at a central part of a system of cheap labour and urban control. The unflagging boycott was being coordinated by a Committee on which African

(154) Natal Mercury, 20 November 1929.

(155) Natal Mercury, 18 November 1929.

(156) Minutes of the Native Administration Committee, Book 3, 19 November 1929.

women were prominent. The head of the Committee was Mamdhlamini who had previously spearheaded attacks on peri-urban shebeens.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ New strategies of control had to be devised. These points were forcefully brought home by the Report of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, as well as by the Native Affairs Commission which sat in Durban in December 1929.

The general thrust of these two reports was that there was some basis for the intensity of African resistance, at a level other than the machinations of individuals. The Joint Council Report claimed that Africans 'are in that state of mind in which revolutionary propaganda easily thrives' and that 'Native opinion should be scrupulously consulted and sympathetically considered'.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ The Commission pointed to the divergence in the wage rates paid for African labour and suggested wage determination. Moreover, it put great emphasis on the establishment of a location, advisory board and adequate recreational facilities for 'raw and younger men, filled with Zulu energy', as an antidote to political agitation.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ In one way or another most of these suggestions were to be taken up by the local state in Durban. A shift toward "incorporation", as opposed to repression, was presaged. But clearly who was to be incorporated, the nature of that incorporation and how those not incorporated were to exist in the interstices of turbulent Durban, was crucial.

(157) D.J. K22.B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Sworn Statements of 43 witnesses re Native Unrest, Durban, Sworn Statement No.34, Theodore Myeza

(158) D.J. K22.B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Statement of the Executive Committee of the Durban Joint Council of European and Natives concerning S.A.P. Raids and Demonstrations, November 14 to 21, 1929, pp.1-3.

(159) Report of the Native Affairs Commission, pp.1-6.

CHAPTER FIVE

BREAKING THE BOYCOTT : THE NATIVE ADVISORY BOARD AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF AFRICAN OPPOSITION IN DURBAN, 1930-1931

It occurs that a certain native Magcekeni Matonsi was nominated or elected to the Native Advisory Board ... on hearing of his appointment (we) wished to meet him and acquaint him of our views on matters affecting us. This he refused to do ... He does not wish to see us and give us account of his activity on the Board ... We therefore wish to know who elected him and where (he) comes from?

(Amos Gumede and Simon Ngcongo on behalf of workers of Bell Street Barracks to N.A.B., 21 November 1930)

The most sinister feature of the boycott (is that) good law-abiding boys are now being forced to resort to isitshimiyane, which has ten times the "kick" of Native beer.

(Natal Mercury, 28 August 1930)

We cannot deny that at present ... the Communists are gaining ground amongst the Natives in Durban and something must be done to educate the Native mind as to the dangers of concocting with such a body as the Communists.

(Native Welfare Officer, January 1931).

The Native Revenue account has been depleted of much of its resources through the boycott ... it is obvious the time has arrived for preventing any losses through mal-administration from falling on burgesses.

(Councillor McCafferty, 9 July 1931)

De Waal's findings had unequivocally ascribed the June riots in Durban to the machinations of failed potential intermediaries

such as Champion, and thus effectively obviated any substantial criticisms of the Durban system itself. By December 1929, however, there is evidence of an acknowledgement by Durban's Native Affairs officials that the disturbances and boycott of that year were an expression of mass disaffection with this system of urban control, exacerbated by the onset of economic depression and the burden of several years of drought. The hard reality of the beer boycott which had shown little sign of flagging over nearly a year, gave support to the view that issues and explanations were to be found at a level other than that of agitators. The repression of resistance in 1929 had been predicated upon the ferocity and extent of this resistance. By 1930, however, the nature of the intervention of the local state had shifted; in certain areas attempts at political incorporation began to replace openly repressive measures. The militancy of 1929 had suggested the dangers of a frustrated aspirant petty bourgeoisie, allied both to an urban proletariat and to a lumpenproletariat which was becoming increasingly visible within the context of day-to-day resistance to the Durban system.

In 1930, the Durban Town Council established a Native Advisory Board (N.A.B.). The Durban Joint Council had pointed out the dangers of radicalising 'native opinion' and clearly located this 'opinion' within the ranks of Durban's petty and aspirant petty bourgeoisie.⁽¹⁾ The N.A.B. was seen as a means of providing a voice for a section of Durban's African community which was increasingly identifying with the town's dominated classes as a whole. The emergence of fairly distinct social strata within Durban's black population has already been noted.⁽²⁾ However, prior to 1930, the dominated classes were by no means deeply divided. The factors conducive to the formation of alliances between various sections of the population,

(1) See Chapter 4, p.204 above.

(2) See Chapter 3, pp.143-4 above.

in particular the shared experience of class and racial oppression in a labour coercive environment and the general absence of differential working class housing, were more potent than elements which might have divided the popular classes.⁽³⁾ The exiguous membership of the N.N.C. provided ample proof of the socially and economically uneasy position of Durban's black bourgeoisie. The N.A.B. was to provide a formal means of politically elevating a section of the popular classes, particularly the petty bourgeois leadership, in the hope that the back of the boycott could be broken and militancy defused. The long term aim of this 'goodwill gesture' was to co-opt a small section of Durban's African population at the expense of the dominated classes as a whole.

The Native Advisory Board and the Origins of the Anti-Boycott Resolution

The Board comprised four Town Councillors and ten African representatives. The I.C.U. yase Natal was allowed two representatives, the Natal Native Congress two, municipal barracks four and government barracks two. The terms of reference of the N.A.B. were never made absolutely clear. This was possible because the Board was not formally constituted as a statutory body in terms of sections 10(1) and 27(3) of the Urban Areas Act since Durban had no 'Native location', defined within the meaning of the Act. The N.A.B. thus had 'no legal status' and was deemed a 'goodwill gesture' on

(3) In evidence before the Native Riots Commission R.H. Arnold claimed that five percent of Africans in Durban were 'very well educated', 35 to 40 percent had 'ordinary night school education' and the remainder were uneducated. Prior to 1929 Champion and Gumede had opposed exemptions for educated Africans claiming: 'we all get the exemption or none of us will have it'. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp.302-324. The Evidence of A.J. Lutuli before the Native Economic Commission points to similar stratification. See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, p.6292.

the part of the local state.⁽⁴⁾

A.W.G. Champion, who was to represent the I.C.U. yase Natal on the N.A.B., adopted a placatory tone towards the white Town Councillors who served on the Board. He stated that the I.C.U. yase Natal was:

anxious that the misunderstanding of the past years should be forgotten. That a clean chapter ... should have in its pages nothing but the writings of mutual understanding between the Native workers and City fathers with all who employ native labour. That the spirit of cooperation as founded in the principles of the Joint Councils ... should be the guiding star. (5)

But the boycott was not a 'misunderstanding', it was part of an everyday reality which the Town Council and officials were attempting to change through the N.A.B. Indeed, at the first meeting of the Board in January 1930, the question of the boycott was raised by the Council representatives, and at the subsequent meetings extensive debate about the need to halt the boycott and determine its source, overshadowed other issues. The Chairman of the N.A.B., Councillor Dr Arbuckle, referred to the fact that the 'unfavourable position' of the N.R.A. would have to be offset by increasing rents and other charges at municipal barracks and trading quarters since a 'great proportion of the revenue was derived from Native beer', although 'the Corporation derived no benefit from its sale'.⁽⁶⁾ In an attempt to locate the source of the boycott, plain-clothes African constables were issued with free beer tickets by the municipal N.A.D. in order to secure 'reliable

-
- (4) For the terms of reference of the N.A.B., see T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.2, Memo for Native Administration Committee, 25 August 1931. As late as 1935 the N.A.B. was still being defined as a 'goodwill' institution. See Minutes of the Native Advisory Board (hereafter N.A.B.), Book 2, 24 June 1935.
- (5) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 232A, jkt.1, Champion to T.C., 27 December 1929.
- (6) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 19 February 1930; and 19 March 1930.

information'. These spying activities, however, proved of little use.⁽⁷⁾

Informed by a process of politicisation ensuing from the beer boycott, the mass resistance of 1929 gave way in early 1930 to isolated incidents of protest, such as the assault of African constables and attacks on their living quarters.⁽⁸⁾ The antagonism of the labouring classes towards authority, extended to include the newly-established Native Advisory Board. The opaque terms of reference of the Board and its immediate apparent unrepresentativeness of all Africans, led to its being viewed with suspicion by ordinary people.⁽⁹⁾

Initially, the African members of the N.A.B. presented a united front on the question of the boycott. J.R. Msimang, one of the N.N.C. representatives, claimed that Africans 'had been fooled for a long time but they had now awakened' and that the boycott of municipal beer 'would never be raised'. The view generally, was that for individual members to decide to vote against the boycott would be 'treading on dangerous ground', indicating the groundswell movement supportive of the boycott. All members thus rejected municipally-brewed beer and urged discussion on the proposed 'Native Village'⁽¹⁰⁾ and the 'economic question', both viewed as being integral to the

(7) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File 91, jkt.1, T.C. to C.C., 22 January 1930.

(8) T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.14, File 49, jkt.1, Compound Manager, Bell Street Barracks to municipal N.A.D., 6 February 1930.

(9) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 22 January 1930. J.G. Masiu and N. Matonsi had not been elected by the institutions they represented - Baumannville and Bell St. barracks, respectively. C.F. Layman was generally responsible for nominating candidates from municipal institutions, ensuring that the N.A.B. could not become a springboard for radical African opposition. See N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, pp.6481-82, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council.

(10) See Chapter 4, p.192 above.

'beer question'.⁽¹¹⁾ In order to 'sound out' popular feeling about the boycott, the N.N.C. had called a meeting in March at the Somtseu Road location and passed a resolution stating that the N.N.C. had 'no connection whatsoever with the Beer Boycott'. However, it called for the abolition of the monopoly because the 'sale of beer as a money-making concern' was a 'bad principle'. The 'degenerating and barbarous' principle of monopoly, it affirmed, should be replaced by other measures 'to uplift the black race'.⁽¹²⁾

The degree to which the N.N.C. was removed from the world of the migrant labourer, the permanently urbanised or the growing numbers of unemployed and marginalised, was unambiguous. As Dube had claimed in 1929: 'I am in a rather different camp from Mr Champion of the I.C.U.'⁽¹³⁾ The sustained scepticism with which the N.A.B. was viewed by African workers was matched by one N.N.C. representative, when he claimed that it was 'impossible for the members of the Board to get into direct touch with the Natives whom they represented', and hence it was not possible to 'give an indication of the feelings of his people' on the boycott issue.⁽¹⁴⁾ The March resolution of the N.N.C. had little impact on the beer boycott. However, it suggested the ways in which the boycott could be used as a political bargaining tool. The continuing boycott of municipal beer provided the N.N.C. demands for a location for married Africans and their families, with additional ballast.

The call for an African village had been a central demand of what might be termed Durban's "encumbant African élite" (such as Dube), as well as of a broader aspirant petty bourgeois

(11) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 19 February 1930; and 19 March 1930.

(12) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File91, jkt.1, F.M. Xulu to T.C., Resolution of Mass Meeting, 5 March 1930.

(13) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.407, Evidence of Dube.

(14) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930.

African grouping (teachers, small traders and churchmen), for over a decade. For a kholwa élite there was no doubt over the eligibility of the 'raw native' for such accommodation, he was perfectly well-suited to Durban's barracks.⁽¹⁵⁾

It was the 'more advanced and enlightened' Africans living permanently in Durban who desired the long-awaited completion of the village. Dube put the issue in a nutshell when he claimed:

The white man has been in this country for nearly one hundred years, and still we have men like Gebememeni! I do not want things to be forced too much, but I want an open door, so that intelligent Natives can go ahead ... and get where the white man is. (16)

This frustrated vision drew out the implications of the absence of permanent and differential accommodation in Durban. The provision of barrack accommodation, characteristic of a labour coercive economy, kept wages low, enforced migrancy and, most importantly, failed to distinguish between the "dangerous classes" or casual workers on the one hand and, on the other, the urban-based African aspirant petty bourgeoisie.⁽¹⁷⁾ The economic gap between the wage labourer and lawyers' clerks, carpenters, drivers, tailors and civil servants was obscured by social admixture of these classes-in-the-making at the level of day-to-day experience, and

(15) Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.408, Evidence of Dube.

(16) N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, p.6258, Evidence of Dube. Gebememeni, acting chief of the Qwabi, had recently given evidence.

(17) See N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, pp.6302-09, Evidence of Violet Sibusisiwe Makanya; see also Evidence of the Joint Council, pp.6326-47 for discussion of the social and economic implications of a permanent African urban population.

living conditions.⁽¹⁸⁾ J.M. Ngcobo of the I.C.U. yase Natal suggested this tension, when he stated that the proposed location should be built by and for African bricklayers, carpenters, and painters.⁽¹⁹⁾

Another meeting, held shortly after that called by the N.N.C., was called by three members of the Board: A.F. Matibela, George Champion and J.B. Mkwanaazi. The three men appointed themselves Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, respectively. The unanimous decision of this meeting was to endorse the boycott and demand the suspension of municipal brewing, pending a 'settlement of the boycott', which neither the de Waal nor the Native Affairs Commissions had achieved. At the same meeting, Champion, on behalf of the I.C.U. handed out pamphlets entitled Igazi ne Zinyembezi - Kumu Estshwaleni (Blood and tears - Hands off beer). The pamphlet urged Africans who were drinking beer at the peripheral beer halls of Sydenham and South Coast Junction to desist, claiming that;

To a black man a thing that blood and tears have been shed for is like a cursed thing. There is no person with a manly character who eats food (i.e. drinks beer) that people have died for unless it has been cleansed. (20)

-
- (18) See N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, pp.6291-92, Evidence of A.J. Lutuli. These factors would go some way in explaining the enthusiasm with which organisations and movements involved in the "social upliftment" of Africans were received by this section of the African population. See Chapter 6, pp.262-6 below.
- (19) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, J. Ngcobo to T.C., 6 June 1930.
- (20) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File 91, jkt.1, 'Blood and Tears' pamphlet (translation of Zulu original). A photograph of one of the African victims of the June riots appeared on the pamphlet which was itself based on Champion's longer publication Igazi ne Zinyembezi - History of Durban Native Riots and Kaffir Beer Boycott. (Durban 1929) (Copy in Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

The distribution of the pamphlet without the knowledge of Matibela, a N.N.C. representative on the Board, or Mkwanzazi, suggested the difference both in strategy and constituency of the I.C.U. yase Natal and the N.N.C. These differences had a long history and were to continue to indicate the almost complete failure of the N.N.C's parochial leadership to find any resonance with, or provide organizational roots for, a population whose voice they claimed as their own.

At the end of March, the Native Administration Committee resolved to increase rentals for all African traders in Durban. (21) The careful watch by the Borough Police on Durban's beer halls resulted in reports that members of the I.C.U. yase Natal were intimidating beer drinkers; Champion himself had threatened an African employee, Sangweni, at the Victoria Street beer hall for precipitating the arrest of another worker who had advocated the boycott of the beer hall. At an I.C.U. yase Natal meeting, David Sitshe, one of Champion's "lieutenants", had received the support of his audience when he stated that 'Sangweni must die'. Furthermore, an I.C.U. driver had reportedly informed employees at the beer hall that Africans would oppose municipal beer 'until death', and anyone seen drinking would be killed. (22) The Board members appeared unanimous in their stand on home-brewing and endorsed J. Sibiya when he claimed that: 'Native beer was the national food of Natives and the Council had deprived them the right of manufacturing ... it themselves'. (23) However, the united front proved brittle: the moves to increase traders' rents, the continuing militancy of the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership as well as the support which the boycott was receiving from African workers, seems to have mobilised the conservative elements on the Board which had hitherto vacillated

(21) Minutes of the Native Administration Committee (hereafter N.A.C.), Book 3, 24 March 1930.

(22) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File 91, jkt.1, Confidential Evidence of Kishwekaya Sangweni to H.S. Fynn, Additional Native Commissioner, 28 March 1930.

(23) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 19 March 1930.

in the face of the unremitting boycott.

On the 16 April, one of the N.N.C. representatives on the Board, J.R. Msimang, a trader and entrepreneur, proposed a motion that 'the promoters of the beer boycott be requested to suspend the same until such time as the proposed Native village is established'.⁽²⁴⁾ The motion was seconded by A.F. Matibela, the other N.N.C. representative. Msimang proceeded to give a detailed description of the proliferation of 'poisonous concoctions' which were being brewed in the peri-urban areas, brews which he asserted 'were detrimental to the health and mind' and 'ruinous to (Africans') health'. Fermented drinks made from potatoes and pineapples were drunk, according to Msimang, by workers intent upon 'suicide' and losing their wages to brewers and shebeens in the surrounding suburbs of the town. However, Msimang also noted the proposed increase of rents which had a direct bearing on his economic position and on that of a number of other N.A.B. members, as well as on an N.N.C. constituency comprising mainly exempted African teachers, traders and clergymen.

The motion proposed by J.R. Msimang was not entirely unexpected. It was carried by eight votes to two. Champion strategically abstained, while J.M. Ngcobo, the other I.C.U. yase Natal representative, was vehement and voted against the motion. Ngcobo attacked Msimang and questioned the right of the N.N.C. to exist. Ngcobo claimed that every area of grievance had yet to receive the attention of local state: wages were still low, the village had only been vaguely discussed, recreational facilities were entirely absent, and the municipal N.A.D. had failed to assuage the belief that it was a repressive apparatus of employers of labour.⁽²⁵⁾ Ngcobo denounced

(24) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930.

(25) See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930. A.S. Dhlamini (soon to leave for Fort Hare University College), J. Sibiya (S.A.R., Point) and Champion, abstained. J.M. Ngcobo (I.C.U. yase Natal) and M. Mkise (S.A.R., Greyville) voted against the motion.

Msimang's expression of gratitude, called him a 'rogue' and left the meeting refusing to tender apologies. The four Town Council representatives who voted in favour of the motion received the support of the two N.N.C. Board members and three others who were nominees of C.F. Layman. In short, the municipal N.A.D. had ensured that its voice would be echoed by the N.A.B. on the vote over the crucial boycott issue. Those in favour of the continuance of the boycott comprised the I.C.U. yase Natal and the S.A.R. and H. representatives. S.A.R. and H. workers had shown a high degree of militancy during 1929.⁽²⁶⁾ Champion's aloofness was by no means at variance with his previous mercurial position. While it appears clear that he was still involved in supporting the boycott, it would have been impolitic for him to come out either for or against the motion. He was caught in between the recent, and personally directed vituperation of the de Waal Commission and the ongoing popular boycott of beer halls. In common with more established members of Durban's African petty bourgeoisie, such as John Dube, he "spoke in two voices to his different audiences".⁽²⁷⁾ His attention was a gesture to a Native Affairs Department which continued to view his activities with the utmost suspicion,⁽²⁸⁾ but perhaps more so to the 'many people' who had 'grave doubts about the usefulness of the Board.'⁽²⁹⁾ While the N.N.C. had promulgated the resolution, the co-option of the more visible and militant petty bourgeois I.C.U. leadership remained fairly ambiguous, and the pledge to halt the boycott remained as elusive as Durban's

(26) See D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Sworn statement of 43 witnesses re Native Unrest, Durban 1929.

(27) Shula Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence', p.175.

(28) Durban's Chief Magistrate suggested that Champion be removed from Durban in terms of the new Administration Act. See D.M.R. File 1/9/2/1, C.M. to Secretary for Justice, 2 September 1929. This option was being kept open by the government Native Affairs Department.

(29) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 232A, jkt.1, Champion to T.C., 16 January 1930.

ubiquitous amalaita gangs.

The increasing distance between the members of the N.A.B. and the dominated classes in the town was, however, emerging with clarity. The boycott resolutions were greeted with popular animosity. In the local press the call to halt the boycott had received wide publicity and, according to Msimang, he stood condemned in the eyes of his own people and was experiencing an 'unhappy life at the hands of his enemies'.⁽³⁰⁾ He had to vacate his premises owing to 'strange circumstances',⁽³¹⁾ and by July had been forced to resign from the N.A.B. for accepting money from African taxi drivers and herbalists, in order to secure them 'certain privileges'.⁽³²⁾ A pre-dominant concern of the N.A.B. members had been, and continued to be, the attempt to secure better conditions for a broad spectrum of traders in Durban.⁽³³⁾ One N.N.C. explanation for the boycott was that it was a form of retaliation for the refusal of local authority to grant special permits for liquor brewing, despite over 200 applications.⁽³⁴⁾

Continuing Urban Militancy : The Boycott, the Ricksha Strike and the Meeting of African Chiefs in Durban

The minor turbulences rippling through the Advisory Board were paralleled by broader patterns of disaffection emanating from Durban's barracks, back-yards and peri-urban

(30) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930.

(31) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 232A, jkt.1, Msimang to T.C., 12 May 1930.

(32) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 July 1930.

(33) See Minutes of the N.A.B., Books 1-2, 20 January 1930 - 11 June 1936. The need for pedlars' licences, more premises for butchers and the extension of trading hours, provide some examples of this preoccupation with the interests of petty traders.

(34) The monopoly legislation nullified these applications which were made in terms of the Liquor Act of 1928.

squatter settlements, where a special squad of Liquor Police was attempting to smother isitshimiyane brewing.⁽³⁵⁾ The quiet which had fallen over beer halls, matched the paucity of beer flowing from Durban's three large breweries (see Maps 1 and 2). In the period 1914-1917, an average of 223 620 gallons of beer were brewed a year; by 1920 the figures had substantially increased.⁽³⁶⁾ But, during the period June 1929 to July 1930 the output had fallen to 90 750 gallons.⁽³⁷⁾ Revenue from the sale of beer, usually comprising well over a half of the income to the Native Revenue Account, fell to £6 107 during the same period. The estimate for beer revenue had been a massive £52 000; the shortfall of £47 517 'was almost entirely due to the boycott'.⁽³⁸⁾

Whereas the N.N.C. had not extended itself beyond the ranks of an educated kholwa élite, the I.C.U. yase Natal could at least claim some support-base amongst African workers in Durban. Since December 1928, Durban's large and conspicuous community of ricksha pullers had shown, not for the first time in their history, signs of going out on strike.⁽³⁹⁾ Their grievances had become enmeshed in the more general upsurge of protest which characterised 1929. However, by 1930 these

(35) See Mayor's Minute, 1930, p.34.

(36) See T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91, jkts. 1-3. By 1925 over 750 000 gallons of beer were being sold per annum. See T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.17, File 91,jkt.1, Confidential report of the Municipal Auditor to T.C., 27 June 1925. Appendix XXI gives an indication of how large-scale municipal brewing was conducted.

(37) Mayor's Minute, 1930, p.65.

(38) Mayor's Minute, 1930, p.111.

(39) W.G. Ballinger, a Scots trade unionist who had come to South Africa in 1928 as an advisor of the I.C.U., anticipated that trouble would break out in Durban and that it would emanate from the ranks of the ricksha pullers. Ballinger was sharply critical of Champion for taking up the beer issue, claiming that the problem lay in the 'very meagre wages' of workers. Of the I.C.U. yase Natal's involvement in the beer boycott, he stated: 'Obviously that is not Industrial Affairs'. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.430.

grievances resurfaced in a more articulate form and the I.C.U. yase Natal (adopting for the first time in many months an issue specifically related to the work situation) conveyed the discontent of this particularly important section of Durban's African workforce, to the local state. The pullers had to pay a total of £25.10s. per annum (10s. a week to ricksha companies for the hire of rickshas, 2s. a month to the Corporation in addition to a further 6d. a month registration fee) in fees. Furthermore, they had to charge a tariff which had remained unchanged since 1916 and they were restricted to certain areas of the town. They demanded that ricksha owners reduce their fees by half, that employers pay the relevant Corporation dues, that tariffs be increased and that greater freedom of movement be allowed.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In April, the ricksha pullers went out on strike.

It was one of Champion's beliefs that 'the only hope lies in discontent, because discontent produces organisation'.⁽⁴¹⁾ While Durban's atmosphere remained thick with popular discontent, beyond the continuing meetings of African political organisations, the fruits of this disaffection remained ill-formed. The N.N.C. generally held its meetings in the Recreation Hall at Somtseu Road location, usually with the approbation of municipal officials. The I.C.U. yase Natal, on the other hand, chose Sydenham and Cartwright's Flats as its main meeting places. These open-air gatherings attracted a more diverse cross section of the black community. Dockworkers, domestic servants,⁽⁴²⁾ ricksha pullers, messengers and lumpen-

(40) See T.C.F. Ricksha Pullers, Box 1613, Champion to T.C., 28 January 1930; also Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 19 February 1930. The revenue derived from ricksha registrations was large and the number of Africans involved in the occupation was surprisingly high. During the period June 1929 to July 1930, a total of 14 035 licences were issued, and there were 5 337 new applications and 8 698 steady renewals. See Mayor's Minute, 1930, p.65.

(41) Quoted in M. Perham, African Apprenticeship, p.193.

(42) For example, at the meeting attended by Perham, what struck her forcefully was the presence of a large number of 'house-boys ... in the red bordered calico of domestic service'. M.Perham, African Apprenticeship, p.20

proletarians were part of crowds which numbered anything between two and five thousand.⁽⁴³⁾ This weekly mass-display of human potential was channelled by the oratory of I.C.U. yase Natal leaders such as J.H. London, J.A. Duiker, David Sitshe and Tom Gwala, and expressed itself in terms of symbols and slogans around which popular grievances could be mobilised. At one such meeting, Detective-Sergeant Arnold was assaulted and a great deal of attention and hostility shown to the police, particularly African policemen who were regarded as 'traitors' and called upon 'to desist from carrying out their duties to the Government'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Perhaps such exhortations were not without impact: by June 1930 African detectives were being regarded by municipal N.A.D. and Borough Police officials as useless, 'if not a positive danger'. African women were also prominent at these meetings, and on one occasion a number of women were arrested for assaulting policemen. One of their number was convicted and hailed by Champion as a 'martyr' who had 'given her liberty for the Native Cause'.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Although claims were made that both the I.C.U. yase Natal and its Provincial Secretary had 'lost a great deal of

(43) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, S.J. Lendrum, Deputy Commissioner of the S.A.P. to Commissioner of the S.A.P., 17 June 1930.

(44) R.H. Arnold had attended every I.C.U. and I.C.U. yase Natal meeting since May 1927 and was the 'only person in Durban who is in a position to give reliable information' on African political movements. Arnold was commonly known as 'Shaka' and was actually a member of the I.C.U. yase Natal. W.G. Ballinger had it that he was the author of the Rules of the I.C.U. yase Natal in 1929. This gives some insight into the nature of the workings of the I.C.U. yase Natal at a leadership level. See D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Deputy Commissioner of the S.A.P. to Commissioner of the S.A.P., 17 June 1940; see also Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.429, Evidence of Ballinger.

(45) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Deputy Commissioner of the S.A.P. to Commissioner of the S.A.P., 17 June 1930.

control, power and influence' amongst Africans, the C.I.D. believed that unrest could resurface at any moment. These fears seemed to be confirmed by rumours of a rural-urban alliance being organised by the I.C.U. yase Natal, in collaboration with various tribal chiefs in Natal and Zululand. Moreover, the boycott of municipal beer remained unbroken and ricksha pullers were threatening violence if ricksha owners continued to 'bribe irresponsible natives' to scab on the ricksha strikers.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The strikers were demanding that the municipal N.A.D. intercede on their behalf in order to resolve the deadlock with ricksha-owners. The ricksha proprietors, meanwhile, secured new employees from the ranks of those Africans who entered Durban on the back of rural poverty. The refusal of the municipal N.A.D. to intercede, and the uncompromising position of ricksha owners, blurred what little distinction might have remained in the eyes of Africans between the police, the municipal N.A.D. and employers of labour.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In an atmosphere of resurgent urban militancy, sixty-two African chiefs and other tribal authorities arrived in Durban. The ostensible reason for their arrival in Durban on 1 June was an invitation extended to them by the Secretary of the I.C.U. yase Natal, in order to discuss the ricksha strike.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Undoubtedly, the appearance of such a large number of important chiefs was precipitated by more than this single issue. Their appearance at a meeting of 6 000 Africans on 1 June, under the aegis of the I.C.U. yase Natal "veterans" of 1929, was clearly an event of momentous importance, not least because the Zulu king, Solomon kaDinizulu,

(46) T.C.F. Ricksha Pullers, Box 1613, Champion to T.C., 19 May 1930.

(47) See T.C.F. Ricksha Pullers, Box 1613, C.M. to Champion, 21 May 1930.

(48) T.C.F. Ricksha Pullers, Box 1613, C.M. to Colonel Molyneux, 21 May 1930. The Chief Magistrate, Maynard Page, dismissed rumours that the chiefs were soon to arrive in Durban.

was present.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Prior to 1930 both the Zulu Royal Family and Natal's kholwa landowners, of whom John Dube was the most representative exponent, had been openly hostile to the activities of the I.C.U. and later the I.C.U. yase Natal. In 1927 Solomon had launched a bitter attack on the I.C.U. and Dube rapidly put the contents of this speech into Ilanga Lase Natal.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Champion replied to this 'underground political plot of a gang of Bantu political traitors' in his own newspaper, in characteristic polemical style.⁽⁵¹⁾

It has been suggested that in response to the deepening economic crisis of the late twenties, especially in the countryside of Natal, the alternatives open to Africans had been either to join the I.C.U. or to move closer to the Zulu king as a rallying point of popular protest.⁽⁵²⁾ The apparent irreconcilable split between the I.C.U. yase Natal on the one hand and the Zulu Royal Family on the other, would tend to suggest that these two areas were mutually exclusive. The meeting of the chiefs with Champion in June, however, hints at the tentative emergence of a broadly-based popular alliance consisting of an urban-based petty bourgeoisie, African workers and traditional African leadership.

(49) Six years later, in 1936, Champion claimed: 'It is known that one of the immediate causes of my banishment was because the late Solomon ka Dinizulu visited me openly just after the Durban Ricksha Strike', See D.M.R. File 1/9/2/2, Native Politics and Unrest, Disturbances - 1936, Champion to Chief Native Commissioner, 9 April 1936. When Solomon died in 1933, the I.C.U. yase Natal held an open-air mourning service in central Durban, See T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.50A, File 352, jkt.2, C.C. to T.C., 20 March 1933.

(50) See S. Marks, 'The Ideology of Segregation', pp.190-91. Dube claimed that Solomon regarded the activities of the I.C.U. leaders as 'very dangerous' and also felt that they were 'exploiting poor Native workers'. See Ilanga lase Natal, 12 August 1927.

(51) Udibi Lwase Africa, September 1927.

(52) S. Marks, 'The Ideology of Segregation', p.186.

When the meeting between the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership and the chiefs took place in the I.C.U. hall, crowds of Africans thronged the street in anticipation. The C.I.D., meanwhile, attempted to ascertain the implications of the gathering which had been 'guarded', and about which 'very little information' had been given out.⁽⁵³⁾ At the subsequent public meeting, elderly representatives of the chiefs occupied conspicuous positions. There were ten speakers, who included indunas and chiefs, as well as the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership in Durban: Tom Gwala, J.A. Duiker, J. Ngcobo and A.W.G. Champion. Also present was Ngonyama kaGumbi, secretary of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the I.C.U. yase Natal. The speakers from the Natal countryside spoke of hunger and starvation wages. Ngonyama was particularly militant. He invoked the injustices of the British to Africans during the South African War, the harshness of poll and dipping taxes and the 'murderous acts' of the European population. Speaking a language informed by racial oppression, he suggested that Africans should 'cut the throats' of the Government and ministers of religion, 'as the Russian Communists had done'. Champion explained that the failure of the ricksha strike was due to 'want of organisation', and was himself sung praises which began with Shaka and ended with the Provincial Secretary of the I.C.U. yase Natal. At the close of the meeting, Duiker shouted 'Humu! Humu! (regiments disperse!) and the last cry to echo across the Flats which was taken up by 6 000 African voices was 'Ematsheni!' (beer halls). According to R.H. Arnold, this cry 'could be construed to mean anything in respect to the Beer Halls embargo'.

The worst fears of the government Native Affairs Department were confirmed when Champion claimed that 'by the Chiefs coming to (Durban), it showed that now the District and

(53) D.J. K22.B1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Report of Detective-Sergeant R.H. Arnold, C.I.D., 2 June 1930. The account which follows below is from the same source.

Rural areas would combine with them in one general movement'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The Government demanded that Champion divulge the names of the chiefs who had attended the meeting. His reply was that 'he did not know who were chiefs and who were commoners, and the Police and Government agents should know what chiefs attended'. With the sharpening class conflict in Natal and Zululand in the twenties and thirties, the Zulu Royal Family and its traditionalism "constituted a bulwark against radical change: a bulwark for the African petty bourgeoisie as for the ideologues of segregation", such as G. Heaton Nicholls.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The realisation by whites of the potential force for conservatism which traditional African authority represented, appeared to be negated by the arrival in Durban of Solomon, and African chiefs from all parts of Natal and Zululand. The apparent "about turn" which Solomons's meeting with the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership indicated, is less easy to explain than the consistent antagonism and repression which Natal's ruling classes directed at the organisation. Solomon's arrival in Durban in June 1930 is most usefully understood in terms of the essential fluidity of African politics during this period. The public antagonism between individuals such as Solomon and George Champion was belied by this fluidity. In 1929 Champion himself had stated that he had had 'contact with every Native chief and leader in the country' at various times.⁽⁵⁶⁾

(54) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, District Commandant of the S.A.P. to the Commissioner of the S.A.P. Natal Division, 16 June 1930. (Emphasis added).

(55) S. Marks, 'The Ideology of Segregation', p.193.

(56) Champion claimed he had contact with 'every Native chief and leader in the country' at various times. See Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.341. Champion claimed that it was only through his offices that Mshiyeni was elected Zulu Paramount after Solomon's death in 1933. For Champion's ties with the Zulu Royal House see Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 17A, 2:XC9:94, Interview with Champion by T. Karis, Durban, 1964.

The welcome which the I.C.U. yase Natal had extended to the chiefs was also extended to the new A.N.C. President, Pixley Seme (who had replaced the more radical Gumede in April) when he arrived in Durban in late June 1930. In keeping with a novel tendency within the I.C.U. yase Natal which saw the Union as a source of popular entertainment, Seme was greeted with the singing of the I.C.U. choir, the Durban Fear No Harm Choir and the Crocodiles Company, at the Durban Workers' Club. (57) However, three months later, Champion was banished from Natal under the amended Riotous Assemblies Act by the Minister of Justice, Oswald Pirow. Undoubtedly the central government saw this as a means of preventing the emergence of 'general movement' encompassing town and countryside, a possibility which had been suggested by the presence of Solomon in Durban.

The reasons for Champion's banishment should also be traced further back to include the Sydenham meetings, the riots of 1929 and the steadfast boycott of beer halls. The "liquor question" provides one of the essential threads of continuity covering this crisis period in Durban, specifically, and in Natal as a whole. The monopolisation of a staple food by local authorities in Natal and the restrictions on beer-brewing in the countryside, provided a focus for popular discontent. The conditions of alcohol production and consumption was both an issue in itself, and the rallying cry of a popular consciousness which spanned town and countryside. This rallying cry was an expression of starvation, eviction and proletarianisation, and in Durban, of subsistence wages and a repressive system of urban control. The cries of 'Ematsheni!' which could be heard at Cartwright's Flats, spoke not only of beer halls and inadequate African housing in the town but of a wide social and political movement, the most radical and expressive moment of which was to be reached in December 1930.

(57) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Copy of I.C.U. yase Natal pamphlet, 13 June 1930. Champion had voted against Seme's election as President of the A.N.C.

Class Divisions, Political Factionalism and the Struggle over Popular Cultural Expression

After June 1930 African political organisations in Durban experienced an almost remorseless process of disintegration and fracturing. Undoubtedly, this related to developments on the broader national level where Seme, in alliance with the conservative faction of the A.N.C., was seeking to gain the confidence and support of chiefs, and replace mass action and popular militancy with consultation and moderation. (58)

With the League of African Rights disbanded and Gumede ousted from the A.N.C. presidency, the radicals of the nationalist struggle were replaced by elements whom the C.P.S.A. continually ridiculed as the 'good boys' of Congress. (59) Seme, walking a frayed tightrope, attempted to re-establish the A.N.C. in Natal. In October, he nominated Durban's Branch Executive, which included a number of I.C.U. yase Natal men. (60) However, Seme alienated Dube by writing to Champion, (61) and by his "cavalier treatment" of the National Executive of the A.N.C. (62) The fragmentation of African opposition was clearly seen at the local level where the N.N.C. split into at least three discernible factions, each endorsing separate candidates for

(58) See Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, pp.229-231.

(59) See, for example, Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 3A, 2:CC1:85/3, The South African Worker, 2 May 1930.

(60) Rev. M.J. Mpanza was elected Branch Chairman. Both the Committee and Executive comprised a diverse section of former N.N.C. members, clergymen, teachers and traders, as well as I.C.U. members, such as D.L. Bopela and Edward Mngadi. This Branch Executive rapidly fell to pieces.

(61) Seme was clearly trying to get the support of the I.C.U. in Natal through Champion. The apparently covert collaboration between Seme and Champion appears opportunistic on both sides. See Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 15A, 2:XC9:41/14, Seme to Champion, 22 October 1930.

(62) P. Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, p.231.

the second term of the N.A.B. For example, the Durban Bantu Traders' Association, represented by W.F. Bhulose and A.J. Mtembu, was receiving the support of veteran N.N.C. leader F.M. Xulu. Xulu, at this time, was in conflict with John Dube. (63)

On a national level such divisions reflected the "disunity of a people undergoing a transition to an industrialised society". (64) They were, however, also symptomatic of heightening central state repression. The old Riotous Assemblies Act had been honed to give the state extensive powers to prohibit meetings and banish persons from specified areas, and the Urban Areas Act had also been amended to facilitate the expulsion of the 'habitually unemployed' and control the entry of African women into urban areas. (65)

The processes of internal differentiation and class division within the swelling ranks of urbanized Africans, became marked during the thirties. The degree to which the leadership of the A.N.C. was in the firm grip of a highly exclusive social stratum is clearly shown in Mveli Skota's annual

(63) John Dube claimed that Xulu had been discredited for his handling of Congress Funds and had 'joined forces with people who are likely to work against the interests of our Congress'. Dube supported A.R. Ntuli, who was active in the Durban and District African Football Association, and his faction. See T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.1, F.M. Xulu to T.C., 23 August 1930; and J.L. Dube to T.C., 17 September 1930.

(64) H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p.434.

(65) See Government Gazette, 5 February 1929. Bill to amend the law relating to Natives in Urban Areas. Section 5 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1930 made provisions for the stringent control of African women through the removal, from urban areas, of the 'habitually unemployed', those with 'no sufficient honest means of livelihood' and the 'idle, dissolute or disorderly'.

'Who's Who' publication.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The majority of A.N.C. leaders came from the ranks of teachers, clerks, clergymen and chiefs.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In Durban this African petty bourgeoisie had received the promise of differential accommodation within white power structures. By 1930 the forces impelling the detachment of aspirant and middle class Africans from the masses, appeared to be greater than those capable of generating a united African response to harsh economic conditions and the suppression of popular opposition.

Through the N.A.B., the needs of a small stratum of African society in Durban were receiving some degree of attention. The establishment of the Board and the promise of a location at Clairwood for 'more civilised' Africans, partly fulfilled their demands. The provision of this proposed housing scheme depended substantially on the decreasing revenue accruing to the Native Revenue Account since white labour, fearful of being undercut, fiercely opposed the use of cheap migrant labour in the erection of houses.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Not surprisingly then, those sections of the African population which were to benefit from the proposed location, also had, along with the local state, a stake in the termination of the boycott. The perception that beer revenue was central to the financing of African housing and to labour coercion and control, was pivotal in the popular mobilisation against municipal beer halls in 1929. However, the realisation by Board members of these intimate connections assumed an altered importance,

(66) See Mwel T. Skota, The African Yearly Register - An Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa (Johannesburg, 1931).

(67) See P. Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, pp.243-244 for a useful occupational breakdown of those represented in Skota's book.

(68) N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, p.6467, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council.

given the rapidly changing conditions of struggle.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The antagonism of 1929, which slowly transmuted into the "goodwill gestures" of the N.A.B., had failed to conjure up beer halls thronging with labourers. On the contrary, the initial suspicion of the Board was replaced by open criticism of the unrepresentative nature of the institution. At the time of the second constitution of the N.A.B., in July 1930, the N.N.C. and I.C.U. yase Natal representation had been cut by half and substituted by an extra two representatives from church organisations, both of whom were also members of the N.N.C.⁽⁷⁰⁾ By September 1930, the only significant voice of opposition on the N.A.B. was J.M. Ngcobo, who had become Provincial Secretary of the I.C.U. yase Natal after Champion's deportment. The attempt to co-opt a specific stratum of Africans through the N.A.B., coincided with renewed attempts by police and native affairs officials to modify certain aspects of an emergent urban African culture, in order to maintain the overall efficiency and coercion of African workers. The most "dangerous" elements of this culture were most evident outside of working hours.

Although the shebeen provided a central social institution for urban and semi-urbanised people in Durban, the cultural resilience of Africans expressed itself in a variety of other

(69) Ironically, it was claimed by A.F. Matibela that 'it was not an easy matter to explain to his people the real position' of the Native Revenue Account, see Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930. The 'Bloemfontein system' had often been posited as an alternative to the Durban system, particularly by Champion. For example, see T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, Champion to T.C., 21 June 1930. For a discussion of the Bloemfontein system, see S.C., 3-23, pp.83-99.

(70) The two representatives were Rev. E.M.C. Msimang, a member of the Natal Bantu Ministers' Association, and Rev. F.M. Caluza, member of the Durban Native Church Council. The I.C.U. yase Natal, not unjustifiably, felt that this was 'a step for the elimination of the I.C.U. representatives'. See T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, Champion to T.C., 19 September 1930.

forms and activities. The group activities of Africans involved in amalaita gangs, ngoma dancing, church choirs and football teams, ⁽⁷¹⁾ for example, were integral to the nurturing of a culture based in areas relatively discrete from the work-place, and indeed, provided the essential context for the popular opposition which the local state experienced in the late twenties and early thirties. The capacity of the I.C.U. yase Natal to give political direction to popular grievances in the period prior to the beer boycott, had always been viewed by Durban's police and native affairs bureaucracy with great apprehension. For example, in early 1929, clashes which broke out amongst over five hundred 'undisciplined' African dancers were clearly linked to the political agitation of the I.C.U. yase Natal. The Chief Constable, W.A. Alexander, claimed that:

some provision should be made in different areas of the town, convenient of access by the Native, where they may find suitable recreation in their leisure hours in order to avoid the evil influence and vicious examples to which they are exposed in Cartwright Flats and other meeting places. ⁽⁷²⁾

C.F. Layman condemned ngoma dancing on the grounds that the 'congregation of Natives armed with sticks, etc., in towns, has almost invariably resulted in serious friction amongst the various tribes'. ⁽⁷³⁾

(71) For discussion of African football in Durban see Chapter 6, p.277 below. The Zulu Union Choir, established by Littin Mtetwa in 1914, gained a high degree of praise from whites in Durban. See T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.43, File 315, jkt.2, R.C. Samuelson to Mayor, 16 January 1928. Insufficient documentary material has prevented a more thorough examination of the activities of Durban's numerous African secular and church choirs.

(72) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.2, C.C. to T.C., 13 March 1929.

(73) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt. 2, Layman to T.C., 13 March 1929.

The reluctance of the municipal N.A.D. to countenance ngoma dancing in the town was replaced, after the 1929 riots, by attempts to provide for the strict control and policing of large numbers of Africans gathered together for the purposes of dancing, or any other communal social expression outside of the work-place. These moves had been endorsed by the de Waal and Native Affairs Commissions of 1929, as well as by the Joint Council. For example, the National Council of Women of South Africa stated that:

for the detribalised natives, who are so numerous in the municipality, there should be adequate open spaces set apart for their recreation ... there are only 11 acres for the thousands of natives who seek an outlet for their animal spirits. (74)

The Council further suggested that the 'innate musicality' of the native should be channelled into a 'native orchestra'. The connections between the popular protest of 1929 and the apparently trivial and escapist informal vocabulary of ordinary Africans, as expressed in dance forms, were clear. The boycott of municipal beer hastened the attempts by the local state to render potentially "dangerous" cultural practices into other forms of "cheap, harmless entertainment for workers". (75)

The opposition of ordinary African men and women, which had found a temporary vehicle of expression in the I.C.U. yase Natal, stood in sharp contrast with near-monadic or irresolute African leaders. A report in the Natal Mercury in August 1930 suggested that, if at one level, a strategy of incorporation was finding its mark, at another level the resolve of most Africans in Durban remained no less diminished.

(74) T.C.F. Durban Native Riots, June 1929, Vol.43, File 323:1, H.A. Coates, President of the National Council of Women of South African to Mayor, 2 December 1929.

(75) See van Onselen, Chibaro, pp.186-94 for a useful discussion of recreation and social control on the Southern Rhodesian mines.

It was reported in the local press that:

the beer halls are still as deserted as they were a month ago. Even the ricksha boy is deliberately missing one of the joys of his arduous life ... Natives who had hitherto been good law-abiding boys are now being forced to resort to isitshimiyane (in) shebeens outside the Borough Another remarkable feature (is) that although the group responsible for the boycott cannot have more than two or three hundred members, it is influencing, and indeed intimidating, 40 000 natives in the Durban area. (76)

Despite the protestations of Champion that his association with the chiefs was not calculated to brew the spirit of revolt in their minds, and his vindication by no less a personage than Mayor Lamont, his banishment by the Minister of Justice went ahead. (77) The vacuum left by his removal was filled by internecine power struggles within the I.C.U. yase Natal leadership and also by the resurgence of the C.P.S.A's Durban Branch, led by Johannes Nkosi. (78)

Radicalism Eclipsed : The Death of Johannes Nkosi and the 1930 Pass-Burning Campaign.

At a national level, the C.P.S.A. was preparing an anti-pass campaign to which end it had invited the A.N.C., I.C.U., and trade unions to take part. (79) The low profile of the

(76) Natal Mercury, 28 August 1930.

(77) See Forman Papers, BC 581 A.2.4, Champion to O. Pirow, 25 September 1930. Also BC 581 A.2.20, Statement of Champion re N.E.C., March 1931. Lamont claimed that Champion had the support of eighty percent of Africans and his expulsion was 'an outrage on British justice'.

(78) Nkosi saw Champion as an obstacle: "If only he were in Champion's place, he would tell them all to burn the passes!" See E. Roux, Time Longer than Rope, pp.245-46.

(79) H.J. and R.E Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, pp.443-44. Fifty delegates arrived in Johannesburg but a large section boycotted the conference.

C.P.S.A. in Durban changed with Champion's expulsion and the waning of formal opposition to the local state. In September the Communist Party obtained a new hall in Hospital Road at the Point (see Map 1), and held numerous meetings to prepare the ground for the proposed anti-pass campaign. Johannes Nkosi received organisational support from ex-town councillor S.M. Pettersen and also from Albert Nzula, Issy Diamond and Garner Makabeni.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Nkosi called upon Africans to destroy their passes ('badges of slavery' as he put it) on Dingaan's Day, 16 December. The speeches were fiery and suggest a reckless confidence generated by an individual who perceived himself to have replaced the silenced rhetoric of Champion. On 9 November, with S. Mtolo of the I.C.U. yase Natal, Nkosi harangued the crowds at an anti-pass meeting in the following terms :

You must throw away your passes and carry your sticks. If you see any Police on the streets they must be killed, also anyone working for the Corporation ... any Native found working on that day must be killed ... Don't run away if a riot occurs ... I hope the steamer on which Hertzog is returning from England will sink and that his soul will go to hell. You are not to drink any more beer and if you see anyone going into the beer halls tomorrow, kill them ... I want you to smash the barrels in the beer halls and spill the beer. (81)

In Durban, the nationally co-ordinated anti-pass campaign

-
- (80) For Pettersen's background see Chapter 4, p.181, n.88 above. Albert Nzula was Joint Secretary, with Eddie Roux, of the C.P.S.A. For a brief examination of certain aspects of Nzula's career see Robin Cohen, 'Albert Nzula : The Road from Rouxville to Russia', in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Townships and Protest, pp.325-40. Issy Diamond was a member of the C.P.S.A. and a barber by profession. He had been active in organising the Durban branch in 1929, Garner Makabeni was a trade union organiser who had entered the C.P.S.A. through the night school movement in Johannesburg.
- (81) T.C.F. Durban Native Riots - 1929, Vol.57, File 323, Reports of Constable Mkuzeni Msizane and Mdinwa Tshabane, 11 November 1930. The Compound Manager at Bell Street barracks reported the speech in much the same way.

discovered in municipal beer a vital symbol around which other popular grievances could be mobilized.

At a meeting held by African women, it was claimed that on Dingaan's Day beer halls would be attacked. These women, denied the right to brew their own beer, held that 'the men have failed and we women will show them what we can do'.⁽⁸²⁾ Such issues were receiving no ventilation on the N.A.B. and the distance of the Board from day-to-day living issues was aptly expressed by togt workers:

It occurs that a certain native Magcekeni Matonsi was nominated or elected as a representative of the Bell Street Point Barracks ... We wish to state that we do not know him and he does not know our mind ... we do not wish to be led by a man we do not know. We were only told by the authorities that he is our leader, and we know nothing of him. ⁽⁸³⁾

Representatives of mediatory bodies such as the Durban Joint Council expressed concern over the undemocratic nature of the N.A.B.,⁽⁸⁴⁾ since they feared the development of a irre-mediabile cleft between the Board and the people whom it claimed to represent.

Concern over the uninhibited activities of the Communist Party was also expressed by the Native Welfare Officer (N.W.O.). In his policing and information-gathering duties in parts of the town which remained untraversed by municipal N.A.D. officials, he discovered 'fairly large' Communist Party meetings. He indicated in his reports that the C.P.S.A. was not popular 'in these hard times', especially since the speakers were asking for money to subsidise a trip overseas

(82) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 1, W.B. North to T.C., 19 November 1930.

(83) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, Amos Gumede and Simon Ngcongco (on behalf of Bell Street barracks) to N.A.B., 21 November 1930.

(84) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, Mabel Palmer to T.C., 21 November 1930.

in order to present African grievances to a wider audience.⁽⁸⁵⁾ However, the N.W.O. called for 'exhaustive enquiries' into the activities of the Durban Branch 'so that they cannot go about freely in Durban'. Signs of the resurgence of popular disaffection could not be overlooked, and fears of the repetition of the 1929 resistance were never far below the surface. African women were organizing a conference to mobilise support for the anti-municipal beer movement, while widescale drunkenness and amalaita gang activities tended to indicate that the objective conditions of existence for most African people had little changed.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The distance which the more prominent I.C.U. yase Natal leadership had traditionally placed between the C.P.S.A. and the I.C.U. yase Natal was defied by the more fluid allegiances of rank and file membership. The distinctions which Champion had made between the I.C.U. yase Natal and the C.P.S.A., before the de Waal Commission, were dissolved at the level of the daily experiences of Africans in Durban. For ordinary Africans, which included increasing numbers of lumpenproletarians, there was little difference between the I.C.U. yase Natal and the C.P.S.A. Yet Champion's successor, J.M. Ngcobo, was quick to disavow the proposed pass-burning campaign. He claimed that he:

had been approached on many occasions to indicate the policy of this organization concerning such demonstrations ... He assured the Board that the movement did not have the support of the I.C.U. and they did not wish in any way to be identified with such demonstrations. (87)

Ordinary African members of organizations, however, defied the apparent clarity of position of African leadership. For example, by December 1930, the C.P.S.A. in Durban had a

(85) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt. 1, J.T. Rawlins to T.C., 14 November 1930.

(86) For white fears of continuing amalaita activity see T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 1, Councillor McCafferty to T.C., 26 November 1930.

(87) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 26 November 1930.

membership of 6 000. Cyrus Lettonyane of Kadalie's virulently anti-communist Independent I.C.U., took, en bloc, the Independent I.C.U.'s membership over into the ranks of the C.P.S.A. According to the C.I.D., members of the I.C.U. yase Natal 'secretly joined up in hundreds' with the campaign, and large numbers of rank and file A.N.C. members put their weight behind the Communist Party. (88)

J.T. Rawlins, the N.W.O., keeping a careful, but not entirely astute eye on this popular movement, claimed that there were 'few adherents' of the Communist Party and that the anti-pass campaign would fail. (89) However, at an I.C.U. yase Natal meeting on 14 December, attended by 3 000 people, Rawlins might have found some seeds of doubt. He requested that the meeting keep calm and work in a 'constitutional way'; but he could not help noticing that:

the I.C.U. prolonged their meeting till late that evening in order to keep away their members from going across the Railway line where the Communists were holding their meeting. (90)

"Fickleness" was the only possession of rank and file.

By late afternoon, on 16 December, over three thousand Africans had gathered at Cartwright's Flats. Nkosi suggested that they march to the statue of Queen Victoria in the city centre 'to remind her that she had not kept her promise'. According to another witness, the crowd gathered in the 'usual method of Zulu warfare - a formation as of the horns of an

(88) D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, C.I.D. Report, 30 March 1931.

(89) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.2, Extract from N.W.O.'s report, 11 December 1930.

(90) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.2, Extract from N.W.O.'s report, 18 December 1930.

ox'.⁽⁹¹⁾ A man in a red robe collected passes and after petrol had been thrown on three thousand passes, a match signalled their destruction and brought forth loud cheers of 'Usutu!' By all accounts, Nkosi, standing on a table, spoke of caution. The atmosphere was tense, however, and was fuelled by large numbers of inebriated lumpenproleterians. As one witness claimed, 'the majority of natives present appeared to be of the scum of the town', and that while 'the speakers did not want to fight', the rank and file, 'collected from Sydenham and such places' certainly did.⁽⁹²⁾ While the passes were still burning, a force of twenty-five white and forty-five African police charged the crowd with assegais and knob-kerries, and simultaneously, the Chief Constable advanced with the police and, aiming at Nkosi, shot him dead. Three other Africans died with Nkosi.⁽⁹³⁾

At the subsequent court case, thirty-one Africans were charged with public violence. The case is illuminating in that it suggests the extent to which the social base of the pass-burning campaign comprised an alliance between a lumpen-proletariat and sections of Durban's African labouring poor. A number of the accused had previous convictions for theft and liquor offences, and at least one had served a term of imprisonment for treason in the rebellion of 1906.⁽⁹⁴⁾

(91) Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1932, Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931, Evidence of B.E. Pepworth.

(92) Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1932, Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931, Evidence of Franz Muto.

(93) See E. Roux, Time Longer than Rope, pp.249-250. The other three victims were Ben Pani, James Mhlongo and Joseph Sofili. Nkosi's body was subsequently mutilated by African policemen. Most African witnesses agreed that arms were carried by some of the policemen and that Chief Constable Whitsitt had shot Nkosi dead, see Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1932, Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931.

(94) See Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1933. Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931. Eleven of the accused received fines of £25 or 5 months hard labour and four received six months hard labour.

It was also noted that there was a strong Basuto element in the crowd on 16 December. Those blacks who shifted between formal employment and unemployment, the marginalized living in peri-urban areas and the voiceless, unrepresented and frustrated African majority, combined to resist a particular form of class and racial oppression - the pass.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Their challenge was as much directed against those who had been partially incorporated through the N.A.B., as at an unapproachable municipal N.A.D. whose reply to the expression of grievances was generally dismissive. With Nkosi, dissolved many of those radical elements which had been part of a popular discourse since June 1929. The general absence of Durban's African petty bourgeoisie from this final stage of a popular movement, and the movement's more clearly lumpen-proletarian character, was particularly noticeable. The monopolisation of beer brewing was a grievance which was uniformly experienced by all Africans in Durban. Moreover, it provided, at an ideological level, a symbol around which more general urban, and rural, discontent could be mobilised. By June 1930, African opposition in Durban had become imbued with a more clearly defined class content. Undoubtedly pass-burning did not particularly appeal to N.N.C. members, nearly all of whom were exempted.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The promise of a 'native village' for a group of educated kholwa, a category inclusive of many I.C.U. yase Natal leaders, as well as rank and file, promoted a process of internal stratification amongst blacks in Durban. After the fracturing of the popular alliances of 1929, the most oppressed sections of the working class were left to face, with a desperate futility, the full

(95) See van Onselen, 'The Regiment of the Hills - Umkosi Wezintaba: the Witwatersrand lumpenproletarian army, 1890-1920' in New Nineveh, pp.171-201. This is an excellent example of an historiography which gives a place to a social stratum which has often either been ignored or denied any historical significance.

(96) F.M. Xulu, ex-chairman of the N.N.C's Durban Branch, was also Chairman of Natal Exempted Natives organisation.

thrust of police and municipal coercion. The united opposition of Africans in the twenties, gave way in the thirties, to political factionalism and the rapid dissipation of the transient cohesiveness of the broad alliances of the late twenties.

The ruling classes did not ignore the possibility that the boycott emanated from the ranks of an African petty bourgeoisie, who were dissatisfied with the enforced sexism of the beer hall, who resented the proletarian conditions under which beer had to be drunk, and the absence of liquor licences for Africans.⁽⁹⁷⁾ All these grievances had tended to indicate the generally insouciant attitude of Durban's white rulers to an African petty bourgeoisie, which increasingly perceived itself as socially different from the 'unchristianized houseboy' and the 'raw, uncivilized' labourer.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In any event, with the promise of differential treatment, which had been made explicit in the N.A.B.'s 'goodwill gesture' and implicit in the planning of Lamont, Durban's black petty bourgeoisie attempted to distance itself from the ranks of African workers. The shifting, but ambiguous, position of this class was captured by J.M. Ngcobo's comments on the death of Nkosi:

(97) See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6482-84, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council. The notion that the predominantly proletarian beer hall was unsuitable for 'respectable people', was commented on by the Commission. The establishment of a location for this class, was also suggested. See also Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 29 October 1930. A.P. Sibankulu, a trader, complained that despite hundreds of applications by Africans for liquor licences, none had been issued.

(98) See, for example, T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.1, A.F. Matibela to N.W.O., 18 June 1930. Matibela had received representations from 'unchristianised natives' who wanted a recreation area. Rev. Mtinkulu claimed that there was a 'class of natives not prepared to live side by side with ricksha boys'. See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 13 September 1933.

We (the I.C.U. yase Natal) as a Union and more so as Officials did our best to dissassociate ourselves with the activities (of the C.P.S.A.), but (Champion) is away and no one at present is looked upon by our rank and file for ... advice ... this was an act of cold blooded murder. (99)

This movement also heralded the withdrawal of the important organisational mainstay which the I.C.U. yase Natal had provided for the beer boycott. However, the boycott continued well into 1931, while the brewing of isitshimiyane continued in the face of extensive raids on shebeens.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Durban's Native Revenue Account remained in a state of severe crisis.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Clearly, the boycott would not remain in force indefinitely. The important shift in urban policy which the establishment of the N.A.B. had marked, showed its political impact by dividing the dominated classes. The working class had temporarily lost its leadership and 'the African intelligentsia', as one observer noted, became 'wedded to the billiard tables'.⁽¹⁰²⁾ In this insightful statement lie hints of a range of social, economic, and political developments which characterised the period 1930 to 1936 in Durban.

(99) See Forman Papers, BC.581 6.53, J.M. Ngcobo, Acting Secretary of the I.C.U. yase Natal, to Chief Native Commissioner, 31 December 1931.

(100) See N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, p.6481, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council. This evidence was taken in April 1931. Arrests for the production of isitshimiyane show a remarkable increase during this period. See Chapter 4, p.163 above; and also Appendices XVII and XVIII.

(101) In 1930 the profits from the N.R.A. were not capitalised because of the continuing boycott, T.C.F. Native Revenue Account, Vol.49, File 476, jkt.1, Extract from the Minutes of the Finance Committee, April 1930. Also see Appendix XIII.

(102) G. Coka, 'The Story of Gilbert Coka', p.318, Although Coka was in Pietermaritzburg at the time, his comments can also be taken as relevant to developments in Durban. He also claimed that 'individualism was giving (the African) a petty bourgeois outlook', p.316.

CHAPTER SIX

POLICING POPULAR RECREATION: SEGREGATION, LIBERAL REFORM AND "LEISURE", 1930-1936

The beer hall system seems to be based on the idea that it is wrong for the Native to have his beer; but to make allowance for his weakness, he is permitted to have it under unsociable conditions.

(Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1932)

With regard to the weekly bioscope entertainment ... I am given to understand that an attempt is being made by Native Communists to disorganize and spoil these entertainments.

(C.F. Layman, 1931)

Owing to the unrest amongst the natives during the year 1929/30, which resulted in a boycott of the beer halls, as well as the prevailing depression, there has been a general decline of income which has resulted in serious losses having to be met from the accumulated surplus funds on (the) Revenue Account.

(Town Treasurer, July 1933).

Strong representations have been made ... in consequence of the uncontrolled intermingling of Natives and Europeans who reside cheek by jowl with each other ... Police and other reports indicate that these areas are fast becoming slums in which lawlessness and generally undesirable social conditions are prevalent ... segregation provisions ... would be of no effect unless sufficient housing accommodation had been provided.

(D.L. Smit, Union Secretary of Native Affairs, October 1934).

While the process of African class formation in Durban had been generated by struggles from below, the impetus which this process received from above, particularly after 1930, was just as important. After 1930, in the wake of unrest and

the onset of depression,⁽¹⁾ the local state embarked upon a concerted programme to refine certain aspects of urban control. The first stage of this project was to enforce the segregatory and influx/efflux provisions of the 1930 Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act. Moreover, municipal bye-laws aimed at tightening the curfew on Africans in the city and controlling African dance halls and meetings, were re-enforced after a period of dormancy. Ancillary to this enforcement of measures designed to control the movement of Africans into, and within the town, was the attempt by liberal organizations and the municipality to "capture" and monitor all forms of working class recreation. The boycott of Durban's beer halls, the main venues for legally sanctioned popular recreation, had encouraged the resurgence of a range of cultural practices which African workers expressed beyond the confines of the "drinking cage". Liberal-sponsored voluntary associations, such as the Bantu Social Centre (where educated Africans were provided with a variety of recreational outlets) were established as alternatives to the mass political mobilisation of the previous few years. A municipal body, the Bantu Recreational Grounds Association (B.R.G.A.) was formed in 1931 in an attempt to establish some kind of hegemony over autonomous sporting bodies such as the powerful Durban and District African Football Association (D.D.A.F.A.), as well as to control the social activities of Durban's African population as a whole.

The "second stage" of this programme to sharpen the edge of urban control comprised the carrying through of the long-mooted plans for more extensive African family housing. However, not only were these plans threatened by inadequate finances and the deficits of the N.R.A., but also by the rapid expansion of secondary industry and a massive influx of

(1) By the end of 1930 the effects of depression in Durban were keenly felt, see Mayor's Minute, 1931, p.60. Some claimed however, that the effects of depression had been slight, see N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, p.6476, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council.

Africans into Durban after 1933.⁽²⁾ The ill-defined nature of state urban policy did little to ameliorate these difficulties. By the late thirties and forties, rapid urbanisation, inadequate housing and the emergence of a vast African squatter population outside Durban, presented local and central government with an apparently irresolvable "urban question". The period 1930-1936 provides part of the key to understanding the problems which were to emerge during the late thirties and the forties.

Urbanisation, Residential Segregation and Beer Brewing, 1930-1934

In its Report of 1932, the Native Economic Commission was ambivalent in upholding the Stallardist principles which had in the past, held sway over state urban policy. While it concluded that it was 'undesirable to encourage the urbanisation of the Native population', it recognised the existence of a large body of permanent African city-dwellers and suggested that this group should be treated and administered as a 'class' distinct from migrant labourers.⁽³⁾ While recognizing the existence of a large body of permanently-urbanized Africans in Durban, the municipal N.A.D. was quick to enforce the powers of expulsion afforded by the 1930 Amendment to the Urban Areas Act. This legislation made possible the proclamation of urban areas in which Africans would not be permitted to reside and it enabled the municipality to refuse permission for a worker's family to join him in an urban area, unless he had been resident and employed there for two years. The legislation also provided for the deportation of the 'idle,

(2) G. Maasdorp and A.S.B. Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p.13. See Appendix XXII for absolute growth of secondary industry in Durban.

(3) See Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932, U.G. 22-32, esp. paras. 496-516, pp.72-5. For a useful discussion of the genesis of non-Stallardist ideas on segregation see Paul Maylam, 'Strategies of Control and Evasion: African Urban History in South Africa c.1900-1950', unpublished paper presented to the Conference of the S.A. Historical Society, University of Durban-Westville, July 1981, pp.1-8.

dissolute or disorderly'. (4)

By 1930 Durban's African population numbered close on 40 000. Besides this, over 60 000 Africans (most of whom were migrant workers entering service for the first time or renewing service contracts) visited the town each year. (5)

The number of work-seekers registered in Durban dropped from 42 299 between 1928/1929 to 25 976 between 1929/30, and continued to decline over the following few years. (6) Undoubtedly, economic depression and several years of drought had resulted in declining job opportunities in Durban. African workers who had secure jobs extended their period of service in the face of massive unemployment. In order to maintain living standards workers were having to work longer hours, thus aggravating the problems of the unemployed. (7) In Natal the index of average nominal weekly wages began to fall as unemployment increased, while job competition amongst workers facilitated wage reductions and the dismissal of any workers who were sufficiently desperate to go out on strike. (8)

(4) See P. Maylam, 'Strategies of Control and Evasion', p.8; also Chapter 5, p.226, n.65. above.

(5) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, Evidence of the Native Administration Committee of the Town Council to the N.E.C., March 1931.

(6) See Appendix XX ; also Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', pp.266-267.

(7) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.265. Economic hardship in rural areas was increased by the enforcement of the poll tax. A provincial tax on cattle (1s. per head), and on sheep and goats (6d. per head), was also imposed.

(8) See H.G. Ringrose, Trade Unions in Natal, Natal Regional Survey, Vol.4, (Cape Town, 1951), p.23. African strikes during this period emanated from lower-paid workers who were not unionized. See also D. Edley, 'Africans in Durban During the Great Depression, 1929-1933', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, 1983. In 1932 the S.A.R. administration reduced wages from 2/6d. to 1/7d. per day.

The apparent decline in the size of Durban's floating population in the early thirties received impetus from the enforcement of sections five and six of the Amended Urban Areas Act. The Court of the Native Commissioner in Durban was responsible for the expulsion of nearly 1 000 African workers over the period 1930 to 1931, and the influx of African women experienced a noticeable decline during the same period.⁽⁹⁾ Between 1931 and 1935, 7 427 Africans were arrested in terms of the Native Taxation Act, and prosecutions for liquor offences showed little sign of diminishing.⁽¹⁰⁾ Clearly, the utilization of openly coercive legislation, such as the amended Urban Areas Act, in conjunction with municipal legislation, such as the various liquor bye-laws, represented strategies with one main underlying aim. This aim was to undermine the growth of a large and potentially militant African floating population and simultaneously, to enforce the distinction between the migrant and more permanent sections of the African working classes. Although the size of Durban's reserve army of labour appears to have diminished during the early thirties, it seems likely that thousands of Africans in Durban evaded the control provisions of the Urban Areas Act and remained in the town to swell the ranks of the unemployed and the informal sector.⁽¹¹⁾ Certainly, by 1933 the situation of unemployed blacks had become sufficiently grave as to warrant the opening of soup kitchens by both the municipality and the I.C.U. yase Natal.

In 1928, the basic influx control machinery of the Urban Areas Act was made effective in Durban by a government proclamation.⁽¹²⁾ The segregatory provisions of the 1923 Act were implemented for the first time in 1929 when Durban's central district was

(9) See Mayor's Minute, 1931, pp. 61-2.

(10) See Mayor's Minutes, 1931-1935.

(11) Written submission of S. Ngcobo to N.E.C., quoted in Edley, 'Africans in Durban During the Great Depression', p.6.

(12) See Government Gazette, 20 January 1928, Government Notice No.10.

proclaimed an area in which African habitation was prohibited.⁽¹³⁾ By 1932, three other areas of the town: Congella, the Point and Stamford Hill, had been proclaimed in terms of the Urban Areas legislation. Further areas were proclaimed during the following five years. In residential areas such as Stamford Hill, Overport and Greyville, endemic overcrowding in domestic servants' quarters and in shacks and houses owned by Indian rackrenters, led to widespread complaints from white burgesses about Africans of 'questionable character menacing the district'.⁽¹⁴⁾

A standard response of whites to social gatherings in the town at which Africans, Indians and sometimes Whites, revelled in surroundings dense with the music of the concertina and an alcoholic haze of illicit brews, was to petition the Town Council for the proclamation of such areas.⁽¹⁵⁾ This 'uncontrolled' recreation of African workers was particularly noticeable in the over 130 private barracks, each accommodating a minimum of ten workers, scattered around the town. Dr Gunn, Durban's Medical Officer of Health and J.H. Kemp, a prominent Town Councillor, claimed in a report that;

Obscene and filthy language, gambling, and shouting which arises from an uncontrolled Native location, with all its bestialities, surely ought not to be allowed to exist in a European area. (16)

One of the immediate consequences of the proclamation of areas in Durban was the movement of Africans to as-yet unproclaimed areas, a phenomenon which was apparent on the

(13) See Government Gazette, 1 February 1929, Government Notice No.24.

(14) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.63, File 467, J.E. Wardorp to T.C., 10 May 1931.

(15) See for example T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.2, H. Vincent and 91 others to T.C., 3 November 1931.

(16) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.2, J.H. Kemp to T.C., 29 May 1931.

Witwatersrand during the same period. (17)

The most useful index for Durban's police and municipal officials of the nature of overcrowding and slum conditions, was provided by the extent of the resurgence of illicit liquor brewing in the town. For those African women who managed to remain in Durban, as well as for unemployed or casual workers, brewing beer or isitshimiyane provided a vital source of informal income. (18) During a period of depression and unemployment the importance of this informal income became significantly enhanced. Police raids on dwellings throughout the town between 1931 and 1936, revealed the extent to which shebeens had regained, after the intense clampdown of 1929/30, a foothold within Durban itself. One such raid in Baumannville, in 1931, revealed that nine residents were involved in illicit liquor brewing. The male residents in each of the houses, including J.G. Masiu, a representative of Baumannville on the N.A.B. and possibly a member of the C.P.S.A., (19) were fined and subsequently ejected from their rented dwellings. It later transpired that the women residents had comprised the core of the brewers. (20) A later raid on Baumannville saw the destruction of 45 gallons of isitshimiyane and beer, and investigations indicated that hardly a single house out of the total

(17) See A. Proctor, 'Class Struggle, Segregation and the City: a History of Sophiatown, 1905-1940', in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Labour, Townships and Protest, p.63. Rather than move into established locations, many Africans in Johannesburg merely uprooted and settled in unproclaimed areas such as Sophiatown.

(18) For an illuminating Johannesburg case study of the social and economic significance of beer brewing in slumyards, see Ellen Hellman, 'The Importance of Beer-Brewing in an Urban Native Yard', pp.38-60.

(19) Masiu was apparently a member of the C.P.S.A. He was later elected Recording Secretary of the All-African Convention. See Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 12A, 2:XM54; also Roux, Time longer than Rope, p.293.

(20) T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.14, File 49, jkt.2, Petition of nine residents of the Married Native Quarters to Mayor, 13 March 1931. All the convicted were traders in Durban.

of 120 was untouched by illegal brewing.⁽²¹⁾ Police liquor raids continued throughout Durban, and the harshness of their execution elicited criticism from John Dube's N.N.C. and Advisory Board members.⁽²²⁾ The N.N.C. reiterated calls for the domestic brewing of beer to be permitted. But it is significant that the abolition of the beer monopoly was not one of their demands. Baumannville residents, a fraction of the total African population, comprised an important constituency of the N.N.C. All its inhabitants were kholwa and many were traders, teachers and clerks. It is not surprising that the N.N.C. did not call for the dismantling of the monopoly precisely because its small constituency did not share, in toto, the range of oppression experienced by ordinary African people in the town. The erection of Baumannville suggests this extremely well. The only family housing for Africans in Durban which had been built on the basis of huge beer hall profits, was luxurious in comparison to the bug-ridden, leaking and stinking barracks accommodating workers elsewhere in the town.⁽²³⁾ Undoubtedly, this differential housing policy served to divide Africans. As one perceptive critic put it: "The Borough of Durban ... is able to charge sub-economic rents, so that one section of the Native population is subsidized at the expense of another".⁽²⁴⁾

In Durban's Greyville district alone, 58 African families were ejected from their houses over a period of six months between

-
- (21) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File 91, jkt.1, Sergeant C.H. Bond to C.C., 5 August 1931.
- (22) See T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, Resolution of N.N.C. mass meeting, 5 June 1931. Dube presided over the meeting and J.G. Mngadi, a well-known Durban trader and Secretary of the N.N.C., forwarded the petition to the authorities.
- (23) See T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.14, File 49, jkt.2, Dick Mate to T.C., 21 March 1932. Mate, who replaced the unpopular M. Matonsi on the N.A.B., described the appalling conditions of the Point barracks.
- (24) See R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities towards the Natives within their Boundaries', p.163.

1932 and 1933. According to police records, in each of these houses there existed a flourishing shebeen trade; the houses themselves were subject to police raids at least four times a week.⁽²⁵⁾ Police raids elsewhere in the town exposed similarly large shebeen enterprises. In the Umgeni Road area, for example, over a period of six months in 1933, a total of 256 gallons of isitshimiyane, 333 gallons of utshwala, 44 quart bottles of sherry and a large amount of yeast were uncovered. Most of the liquor had been buried in containers, underground.⁽²⁶⁾ In the absence of formal employment, and with the effects of low wages and depression taking their toll,⁽²⁷⁾ many Africans turned to the informal sector, and particularly to liquor brewing as a strategy of economic survival. The decision to make a living in grey, ill-defined areas of a town existence was, at least temporarily, more alluring than the impoverishment of African homesteads in Natal's reserves where it was estimated that 59 percent of all grain requirements of the population were imported.⁽²⁸⁾

If the local state in Durban gave full expression to Stallardist principles in the post-1930 period by proclaiming areas, controlling the registration of service contracts, ejecting the formally unemployed and unemployable from the town and curbing the influx of African women from rural areas, this was only part of a broader project. The other part was to recognize

(25) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.4, C.C. to T.C., 1 May 1933. Most of the houses were in the May Street area where the pre-1909 shebeen trade had prospered (see Map 1).

(26) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.5, C.C. to T.C., 17 July 1933. Many of those arrested were described as 'vagrants'.

(27) Wages which had not increased since the 1920's, were forced down in the early 1930's. African dockworkers went out on strike in April 1932. See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.265 and pp.272-284.

(28) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.285

the extent to which a section of Africans in Durban had come to rely on the town for all their subsistence needs, and to modify the nature of urban management and control accordingly. The Report of the Native Economic Commission had suggested that:

It is perfectly clear that a considerable number of Natives have become permanent town dwellers ... In the interest of the efficiency of urban industries it is better to have a fixed urban Native population ... To continue employing Natives in urban areas, but to treat them as if they should not be there, is both illogical and shortsighted. (29)

Although the early 1930's had witnessed a marked decline in the numbers of African workseekers entering Durban, this proved to be merely a temporary reversal (related to the shrunken labour market during the depression) within a broader process of rapid African urbanisation. A touchstone of this process is provided by evidence of greater numbers of permanently urbanized African women. The provisions of the 1930 Urban Areas Amendment Act which gave local authority greater power to eject African women from urban areas, ⁽³⁰⁾ did not provide an adequate bulwark against the increasing tendency of women to flock to Durban and its peri-urban areas. By 1936, of a total African population of 63 547, 14 234 were women. This represented an increase of 142.3% over the female population figures of 1921. ⁽³¹⁾ In itself, the increase in the size of the African female population between 1930 and 1936 did not mean increased permanent settlement of Africans in Durban; however, it was a predisposing factor and indicated a trend in this direction. ⁽³²⁾

(29) Report of the Native Economic Commission, para.500, p.72.

(30) Attempts to obtain legislation allowing for more stringent control of African women were made throughout the thirties and forties. These attempts became particularly pressing after the uneven success of Proclamation 63 of 1936. See D.J. Mackenzie, 'Influx Control, Health Regulation and African Women in Durban', pp.5-6.

(31) The percentage increase for African males was only 78.4%. See D.J. Mackenzie, 'African Women in Durban, c.1920-1960' unpublished paper presented to postgraduate History Seminar, University of Natal, Durban, 1981, p.4.

(32) See G.E. Stent, 'Migrancy and Urbanisation in the Union of South Africa', p.173.

While African family life was tenuous in Durban, it was much less so in the suburbs surrounding the town. In 1911, the African population of these areas numbered 2 100.⁽³³⁾ By 1932, an estimated 21 000 Africans lived just beyond the municipal borough boundary. Although not a de jure part of the town, these areas were de facto, an integral part of Durban. The relationship between a resilient shebeen culture in these areas and the articulation of urban African militancy between 1929 and 1930, has already been noted.⁽³⁴⁾ For most Africans in Durban, the regimentation of their lives was a daily experience. However, in the peri-urban areas this regimentation tended to be replaced by greater freedom of social intercourse and movement. Thousands of workers (roughly eighty percent of the peri-urban population) commuted daily into Durban from these areas and lived in a growing maze of shacks, more often than not, owned by Indian landlords. By 1932, in Cato Manor alone, over 400 squatter shacks were identified in a municipal survey of the area.⁽³⁵⁾ It became abundantly clear to local authority that a greater degree of control over this vast reservoir of African labour was required in order to avoid the resurgence of urban African militancy. With these considerations in mind, and particularly the need to provide adequate accommodation for a burgeoning African population, the Borough boundary was extended in August 1932 to incorporate eight of Durban's contiguous districts. The City of Durban had increased its area to 70 square miles.⁽³⁶⁾ The proposed

(33) M.A. Sugden, 'The Bantu of the Durban Metropolitan Area - A Case Study in Population Analysis', unpublished M.Sc. thesis, University of Natal, Durban 1965, p.5.

(34) See esp. Chapter 4, p.185 above.

(35) L.K. Ladlau, 'The Cato Manor Riots, 1959-1960', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1975, p.20.

(36) These areas included Greenwood Park, Sydenham, Mayville, Umhlatuzana, and South Coast Junction. African dwellings accounted for nearly a third of all houses in the Incorporated area. See The Durban Housing Survey, p.30; also R.J. Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', South African Geographical Journal, Vol.45, 1963, p.22. By 1935 Durban was generally referred to as a 'City'.

location, for which 425 acres of land had been purchased, now fell within the new municipal area.

After 1932, it therefore appeared that local authority in Durban was preparing the ground for a workable solution to its 'Native problem'. However, the perennial question of obtaining finances for the project showed no sign of being resolved. The boycott of municipal beer halls had left its forceful imprint on the Native Revenue Account. In 1930, for the first time in its existence, the Native Revenue Account incurred a net loss which had to be made up from the Account's accumulated funds.⁽³⁷⁾ This 'temporary setback',⁽³⁸⁾ was made worse by the intervention of Major Herbst, Secretary of Native Affairs, who attempted to terminate the cavalier usage of N.R.A. funds. Although the 1923 Urban Areas Act laid down that central government should approve all expenditure by local authorities of N.R.A. monies, Durban had never followed this course. The result of this inaction was that the accumulated disallowances against Durban's N.R.A., for the period 1924-1930, 'reached the formidable total of £41 637'.⁽³⁹⁾ The resolution of this conflict between central and local government occurred with no small degree of difficulty.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The upshot of the central government's attempt to clearly re-define its relationship to a particularly "maverick" local authority was the temporary postponement of the project to erect a location. The news of this hold-up fell, according

(37) See the Durban Housing Survey, pp.303-04.

(38) T.C.F. Native Revenue Account, Vol.49, File 476, jkt.1, Town Treasurer to T.C., 27 July 1933.

(39) T.C.F. Native Revenue Account, Vol.49, File 476, jkt.1, Secretary of Natives Affairs to T.C., 2 November 1931. Herbst claimed that the situation was 'intolerable'.

(40) See T.C.F. Native Revenue Account, Vol.49, jkts.1 and 2, Correspondence between Town Clerk and Union Native Affairs Department, 1931-1934. The Borough Fund was not obliged to meet the disallowances (i.e. revenue drawn from the N.R.A. and spent by local authority, but which central government deemed illegitimate). Between 1932 and 1934 £272 was paid into the N.R.A. from the Borough Fund, in order to meet an excess in expenditure. This represented the only subsidy given to the N.R.A. from general rates for the period 1923-1934.

to the Native Welfare Officer, J.T. Rawlins, 'like a bombshell on the ears of the Natives' in Durban, ⁽⁴¹⁾ and became a constant point of discussion and dissatisfaction amongst African representatives on the N.A.B.

Liberal Reform Initiative in Durban: The Debate over
"Leisure-time"

The implementation by local authority of measures designed to systematize influx control and segregation in response to the urban militancy of 1929-1930 and rapid urbanisation, continued apace. However, after 1930 these strategies were allied to a novel, liberal-based programme which aimed at fostering 'healthy' social conditions for Africans outside of the workplace, during their "leisure-time". A central aspect of this programme acknowledged a class of Africans who had 'made considerable progress in civilization', ⁽⁴²⁾ whose voice could be heard on Durban's N.A.B. and whose differential status within Durban's African population was awaiting confirmation in the form of the 'Native Village'. This reformist programme found political backing at the level of the local state through Durban's Mayor, Rev. A. Lamont. Lamont, who was a friend of A.W.G. Champion and a man of strong liberal outlook, came into office in 1930 and remained there for three years. ⁽⁴³⁾

(41) See T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.2, Report of the N.W.O. 12 October 1931.

(42) The N.E.C recommended differential treatment for this section of South Africa's urban African population. See Report of the Native Economic Commission, para. 561, p.81.

(43) Rev. Lamont joined the Town Council in 1924 and in 1928 left the Ministry after 40 years of service. He later became Member of the Provincial Council for Greyville. Throughout his period of office the Natal Mercury campaigned vigorously against him. Lamont and his liberal supporters on the Town Council did not share all the views of those in the municipal N.A.D. Councillor McCafferty, for example, was highly critical of C.F. Layman. See Chapter 5, p.205 above. I am indebted to Louise Torr for providing me with information on Lamont.

Legassick has suggested that in South Africa during the twenties, liberalism was "a force trying on the one hand to minimise or disguise the conflictual and coercive aspects of the social structure, and on the other, to convince selected Africans that the grievances they felt could be ameliorated" through liberal reforms.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In Durban after 1930, independent liberal bodies such as the Joint Council for Bantu and Europeans, were to encourage and cater for 'moderate' Africans. However, for the majority of labouring Africans in the town, the programme revolved around the provision of "harmless" and "healthy" recreation as an antidote to political agitation and popular protest. At the same time, those aspects of an emergent urban culture which had provided the essential context for the resistance of 1929 and 1930 were carefully monitored by the N.W.O., and proscribed through municipal by-laws and police action. Tim Couzens has claimed that the liberal initiatives and institutions which emerged on the Witwatersrand in the twenties and thirties, were aimed at "defusing Native passions", and further, that "culture and entertainment were also used as auxiliary forces" in this programme.⁽⁴⁵⁾ A similar trend is noticeable in Durban for the period after 1930, and the relative success of these strategies is suggested by the fact that the I.C.U. yase Natal, besides splitting into three discernable factions, became steadily caught up in providing concerts and entertainment for Durban's African workforce. The impact of this programme on ordinary black people in the town was, however, to prove less successful. When the Native Welfare Officer was appointed in May 1930, Durban had the dubious honour of being the most violent town in South Africa.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Perhaps for this reason, the curfew laws, which banned unexempted-Africans from the streets between 10.30 pm and 4.30 am, were re-introduced in

(44) M. Legassick, 'The rise of modern South African liberalism: its assumptions and its social base', unpublished paper, Sussex University, quoted in Tim Couzens, ' "Moralizing leisure time": The Transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg 1928-1936', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa, p.315

(45) See Tim Couzens, ' "Moralizing Leisure time" ', p.318.

(46) See Appendix XVI.

March of 1931.⁽⁴⁷⁾ By 1933 African drunkenness had increased substantially.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The initiatives of liberal intermediaries and certain members of the Town Council (working through the N.W.O.) should thus be understood in terms of the unremitting harshness of proletarian existence, and the defensive cultural responses which these conditions generated.

The terms of reference of J.T. Rawlins, the first N.W.O., were not immediately clear. The de Waal and Native Affairs Commissions had suggested that the welfare needs of Africans should be catered for.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Although the N.W.O. did not fall directly under the control of the municipal N.A.D. the office, like the N.A.B., remained a 'goodwill gesture'. Apart from carefully monitoring the meetings of the I.C.U. yase Natal and the C.P.S.A.,⁽⁵⁰⁾ Rawlins compiled reports on African recreation, specifically dancing, football and drinking in beer halls. He was initially viewed by Africans as a substitute for the authoritarian municipal N.A.D. which had proved largely unsympathetic to the grievances of ordinary African people in Durban. Rawlins was approached about a wide range of day-to-day living issues but his duties were rapidly circumscribed by C.F. Layman, Manager of the municipal N.A.D. Champion was not far off the mark when

(47) Minutes of the N.A.C., Book 3, 13 March 1931.

(48) See Natal Advertiser, 18 December 1933, for the Chief Magistrate's comments on increased drunkenness, and Natal Advertiser, 21 October 1933 for those of the Chief Native Commissioner, H.C. Lugg. Also see Appendix XVIII. After 1932 the statistics for African drunkenness become extremely problematic. The incorporated areas accounted for a large number of arrests for drunkenness and illicit brewing. However, the Mayor's Minutes do not appear to adequately account for this increase. cf. Appendix XVII. These are figures provided by the central government.

(49) See Chapter 4, p.192, p.204 above. It is significant that after 1930, the Town Council channelled more money into African welfare than had been the case in the past, See Appendix X.

(50) See Chapter 5, p.233. above.

he claimed that Africans had:

been deceived as to the position of the Durban Welfare Officer who has turned up to be nothing more than (a) sports manager in Durban ... Perhaps more riots and boycotts on larger scales would once more bring Durban ... to the public eye. (51)

Dr. Seme, conservative president of the A.N.C., appeared to be more circumspect about this issue, and claimed that:

the arrangement for Native sports is certainly a great triumph. It offers a splendid neutral ground on which both races can meet and co-operate. (52)

In Durban, the issues of sports and playing fields proved to be far from the 'neutral ground' conceived by Seme. At one level, this can be seen in the conflict between municipal officials over the implementation of a 'native welfare' programme.

The clear animosity between the distinctly anti-liberal C.F. Layman and the N.W.O., J.T. Rawlins, was undoubtedly fuelled by the fact that Rawlins was in close consultation with the

(51) Forman Papers, BC581 A1.58, Champion to Mayor Lamont, 22 July 1930. J.M. Ngcobo, Champion's successor as Branch Chairman of the I.C.U. yase Natal also complained that the duties of the N.W.O. 'were being limited entirely to sport and recreation'. See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 17 June 1931.

(52) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, President General A.N.C. to T.C., 14 October 1930. It would seem that in most historical instances the sports ground has provided a means for the expression of class divisions, rather than a "neutral meeting place". See W.J. Baker, 'The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England', Journal of Social History, Vol.13, No.2, 1979, pp.241-51.

Durban Joint Council,⁽⁵³⁾ American Board Missionaries and their liberal allies. J.T. Rawlins, in collaboration with Rev. J.D. Taylor, a member of the A.B.M. and executive member of Durban's Joint Council, instituted the showing of films in municipal quarters. The film-shows, which were also held in the large private compounds of manufacturers, such as Bakers Ltd., were clearly part of broader attempts to channel African discontent into a more innocuous and 'healthy' direction.⁽⁵⁴⁾ But more than this, the showing of films, which were 'subject to a special censorship' based on what the authorities regarded as 'suitable' for exhibition to 'raw Natives',⁽⁵⁵⁾ were aimed at "moralising the leisure-time" of urban Africans. While Durban's native affairs bureaucracy placed emphasis on organising and controlling leisure-time,

(53) For a very useful discussion of the individuals and ideological debates involved in the founding of the Joint Councils, see B. Hirson, 'Tuskegee, the Joint Councils and the All-African Convention', Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, No. 26, I.C.S., London, 1978-79, pp.65-76. The Joint Councils were established in 1921 and initially influenced by two American-based reformers, James Aggrey and Dr. Jesse Jones, as well as by the ideas of the Inter-Racial Committees of the American South. Set up by a group of South African whites and blacks, the Councils aimed at "fostering greater understanding between racial groups" through inter-racial discussion. See Tim Couzens, 'Moralizing leisure time', p.317. J.T. Rawlins met a founder member of the Joint Councils, Howard Pim, and took up his suggestion of establishing a Bantu Social Centre, See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 11 May 1932.

(54) See Paul Rich, 'Ministering to the White Man's Needs: The Development of Urban Segregation in South Africa 1913-1923', African Studies, Vol.37, No.2, 1978, p.182. Rich discusses attempts on the Rand to "direct radical African sentiments into more moderate channels".

(55) C.W.Ould, 'Organisation of Spare-time Activities for Native Workers in Certain South African Towns', International Labour Review, Vol.38, 1938, p.34. Rev. Ray Phillips and Dr. Bridgeman sent censored films to Durban from the Rand. For parallel example of the use of film-shows as cheap and innocuous recreation for workers see van Onselen, Chibaro, p.192.

the liberal reform movement placed greater emphasis on moralising it in a "proper" (Christian) way.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Rev. J.D. Taylor noted the centrality of mission bodies in recognizing the importance of "moral recreation". He claimed that 'it was the missionary who first recognized the necessity for recreational activities for Natives, as part of a thorough redemptive programme'.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In Durban the "redemption programme", a means of asserting social control on an altered basis, was continually threatened: the filmshows frequently ended in riots between workers wielding sticks or were disrupted by Communists.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Mechanisms for the control of leisure-time were obviously more easily implemented in the coercive physical environment of Durban's African municipal barracks and hostels. However, by 1931, not more than 9 000 Africans, out of a total African population of close on 45 000, lived in this bleak barrack world. Despite the continued attempts of the local state to push forward its Stallardist programme, especially through Proclamation, the uneven pattern of African residence in Durban, aggravated by the extension of the Borough boundary in 1932, remained a characteristic feature of Durban's landscape. Moreover, the relative diversity of African social life did not generate a monolithic and predictable consequence, and hence, presented local authority with significant problems of

(56) Tim Couzens, '"Moralizing Leisure Time"', p.319, 330. This article is a lucid examination of the emergence and impact of the liberal reform movement, spearheaded by American missionaries, on the Rand in the early twenties. Durban experienced the full impetus of this movement in the early thirties.

(57) Report of the National European and Bantu Conference - Cape Town, February 1929, Lovedale Press, p.194. (Copy in University of Cape Town Libraries, African Studies Department).

(58) See for example T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.14, File 49, jkt.1, N.W.O. to T.C., 8 January 1931; and Layman to T.C., 15 January 1931. Rawlins claimed that if Africans' sticks were confiscated they would refuse to patronise film-shows. Layman attempted to halt the filmshows altogether.

management and control.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Such problems were especially apparent in the alternative character of a shebeen and drinking culture or, at a more diffuse but no less important level, in Durban's popular dance halls and public meeting places. The unquestionable stake which the local state and capital had in the form of African urban culture, was illustrated by a keynote memorandum of Durban's N.W.O. Rawlins pointed out:

the absolute necessity of ... providing an outlet for the superfluous energies of the Native community ... as a working animal the white man values the black man ... there is very little being done to counteract ... vicious influences of civilisation's under-world ... we see ample evidence of this on the many convictions for "Isitshimiyane", the spread of venereal disease, and ... discontent and rioting ... (I)interest on the part of Europeans would certainly limit the spread of vicious and evil influences, and the native community of Durban would be moulded into a law-abiding and contented section of the community ... there would be a direct result from an economic point of view. Energy offered outlet ... would assuredly be of value to an employer of labour. (60)

Mabel Palmer, on behalf of the Durban Joint Council, drew the attention of the Town Council to 'the serious social danger arising from the presence in and around Durban of unlicensed and uncontrolled dance halls'.⁽⁶¹⁾ In another report the Joint Council 'deplored the lack of social clubs for the working classes'.⁽⁶²⁾ The response of liberal

(59) This absence of a uniform response, given the differing conditions of social existence of the dominated classes, has been noted in one case-study. See Ian Phimister and Charles van Onselen, 'The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity', p.28.

(60) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59A, File 352, jkt.2, Memorandum of the N.W.O. to T.C., 25 April 1931.

(61) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, Mabel Palmer to T.C., 10 November 1930.

(62) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.5, Report of the Social Findings Committee of the Joint Coloured and European Conference, 1933.

intermediaries whose crucial link with local government was maintained through the relative independence of Durban's N.W.O., was to recognize and promote African sport in particular, and recreation generally, along "proper" lines. These strategies ultimately proved to be at odds with the general tenor of native administration in Durban.

The solution proposed by liberal reformers, and that posed by a repressive native affairs bureaucracy to a discontented African proletariat and potentially radical petty bourgeoisie, was at times blurred. This hinged upon tensions within South Africa's ruling classes as a whole. By 1930, Hertzog's Pact government had clearly indicated its antipathy to the liberal calls for some form of "enlightened political and economic segregationism which would act as realisable outlets for the aspirations of the African political class".⁽⁶³⁾ The foundation of a coherent policy of state manipulation of ethnic identities on a national scale had already been laid down by various legislation.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The reliance of the state on the more coercive apparatuses of control, and its firm adherence to Stallardist principles in relation to Africans in urban centres, was at odds with a body of liberal opinion epitomized by the Joint Councils and the South African Institute of Race Relations (S.A.I.R.R.), another liberal organisation formed in 1929. These liberal groupings, increasingly allied to commercial and industrial circles,⁽⁶⁵⁾ called for a form of politics which

(63) Paul Rich, 'The South African Institute of Race Relations', and the Debate on "Race Relations", 1929-1958', Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, No.28, I.C.S., University of London, 1980-81, p.79.

(64) Rich, 'The South African Institute of Race Relations', p.78. The key legislation in this regard comprised the 1927 Native Administration Act and the 1932 Native Service Contract Act.

(65) Koch, 'The Responses of the Dominant Classes to Marabi Culture - Liberals, the Local State and the Black Petty Bourgeoisie', p.14.

(i) recognized the racial and cultural diversity of South Africa, (ii) was wedded to the notion of "uplifting native races" and (iii) was informed by perceptions of a growing section of permanently-urbanised Africans. Mabel Palmer called for the establishment of 'a decent permanently resident population in Durban', a key part of which would be the establishment of a large location. The Joint Council in Durban claimed that in the transitional period towards the attainment of this 'decent permanently resident population', 'healthy outlet' for the expression of human energies would have to be promoted.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Nowhere better was this point to be illustrated than in regard to Durban's amalaita gangs. In order to re-channel the 'psychological factors' which purportedly lay behind amalaita activity, it was suggested that:

with the help of pass registers ... all the boys working in Durban (could be) divided into suitable pathfinder groups under healthy patrol leaders. By that way ... room could be allowed for healthy deeds of daring, acts that go to form good character, and on the whole, such an organisation would be economically sound, because for one thing it would mean an intelligent and reliable force of labour. That is one way in which Bantu nation building, for which Mr Heaton-Nicholls shows so much concern, could be taken up. (67)

For the liberal reform movement this represented the "proper" way of channelling African "leisure-time". At a national level the N.E.C. endorsed these views when it submitted its Report in 1932.

In noting that in most South African towns there was 'very

(66) See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6346-47, Evidence of Mabel Palmer.

(67) See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6327-28, Evidence of Durban Joint Council. J.T. Rawlins also emphasized the psychological dimension of recreation, claiming that suppression of energy 'very often results in insanity'.

little provision for Native Recreation', the Report of the N.E.C. went on to claim that:

... no thought was given to the provision of substitutes for (African's) traditional amusements and recreation, and as time passed and large numbers of Natives became congregated in towns, the need for an outlet for the Native's high spirits in his free time, began to show itself in the establishment of amalaita gangs and in orgies of drunkenness. A very close connection exists between the need for recreation and the prevention of drunkenness and many forms of crime. (68)

In so far as Durban is concerned, one qualification needs to be added to the observations of the N.E.C. The rulers of the town had provided one form of "traditional recreation" in the guise of controlled drinking in a novel urban institution: the beer hall. However, the riots and beer boycott of 1929-31 had brought home forcefully two points relating to the provision of limited and repressive recreation in the form of the municipal beer hall. Firstly, the control of African workers during their spare-time could not be achieved only through the beer hall, but had to be allied to more formal control of various social and cultural practices, which in the past had been either ignored, or suppressed, by the police and the municipal N.A.D. Secondly, underlying the suggestions that the more 'civilized natives' resented the 'unsociable' conditions of the beer halls, ⁽⁶⁹⁾ was the emergence of social stratification within Durban's African population. By 1930, the issue of the beer monopoly was being taken up in a differential manner by Africans in

(68) Report of the Native Economic Commission, paras. 565-73, pp.81-2.

(69) As late as 1956 local authorities in Natal attempted to specially fit out beer halls for the 'better class of Native'. See D.N. Bang, 'The History and Policy of Kaffir Beer in South Africa', p.22. S. Borquin mentioned similar efforts to improve the atmosphere in Durban's beer halls, see Interview with S. Borquin.

Durban. For a group of more permanent urban Africans and petty bourgeois elements the monopoly was increasingly perceived as a stumbling block in the way of home-brewing, particularly by the wives of these permanently urbanized men.⁽⁷⁰⁾ At a national level, the increasingly differential impact of liquor legislation on urban Africans was carefully noted by the S.A.I.R.R. and the South African Temperance Alliance, as was the rejection, by educated Africans, of the "drinking cage".⁽⁷¹⁾

In general terms, the intervention of the dominant classes in order to modify particular cultural practices largely depends on whether these practices extend to areas in which these classes have an interest or stake. The reworking of domestic beer-brewing had long since become institutionalised in Durban's beer halls and Native Revenue Account. However, various other alternative cultural institutions supported by Africans in the town, continued to enjoy a tenuous existence. It was this semi-autonomy - seen in the light of the mass resistance of 1929 and 1930 - which called forth the active attention of the local state and liberal intermediaries in Durban.

Struggles over Cultural Expression in Durban: Dance Halls and Liberal Voluntary Organisations 1930-1936.

By 1932, liberals who were active in Durban had achieved some success in their attempts to establish the means for the formal, 'healthy' expression of 'native energies'.

(70) The wives of male residents of Baumannville were involved in widespread brewing. See p.246 above. Clearly Durban's African élite did not regard the beer monopoly and home brewing as being mutually exclusive, see resolution of the N.N.C., p.247, n.22 above.

(71) See The Illicit Liquor Problem on the Witwatersrand. Report of Unofficial Commission Appointed by the S.A.T.A. and the S.A.I.R.R., 18 May 1935, esp. pp.30-31, 42

Rev. Mkulisi, the Head Teacher of the Taylor Road School and a member of the N.A.B., had created a local Pathfinder movement,⁽⁷²⁾ and by 1933, the equivalent organisation for African girls and women, the Wayfarers, had eight detachments in Durban with a membership of up to forty in each group.⁽⁷³⁾ These essentially Christian social movements were held by their advocates, to be substitutes for 'old initiation schools' and a means of 'adjust(ing)' boys and girls to a 'type of life which their parents had scarcely known'.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In 1931, Rev. Mpanza, whom Dr Seme had appointed Chairman of the Durban A.N.C. Branch in 1930, was the prime mover in establishing the Bantu Boys' League. The membership of the organisation comprised African males under the age of twenty-one years. It aimed to encourage 'good fellowship' among African boys, to promote an interest in games and thrift and to work towards 'mutual understanding between the white and black races'.⁽⁷⁵⁾ These organisations, catering for a select stratum of Durban's African population, were the forerunners of Durban's Bantu Social Centre. The Social Centre, which was the embodiment of liberal enterprise for urban Africans, was established in October 1933.

The early thirties saw the emergence of a number of organisations catering specifically for urban African Christian women. Violet Sibusiswe Makanya was the most prominent of those African women involved in the missionary/liberal network in Natal and the Transvaal. She had been a founder member of the Purity League (in the thirties this became the Bantu Youth League) and channelled a great deal of energy

(72) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.2, Rev. S. Mkulisi to N.W.O., 7 January 1932.

(73) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.4, Report N.W.O., October 1933.

(74) Report of the National European and Bantu Conference, pp.207-08.

(75) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59A, File 352, jkt.2, Report of the N.W.O., April 1931.

into promoting an ideology of domesticity amongst urban women.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In presenting evidence to the N.E.C., she had expressed concern at the consumption of isigala and isitshimiyane by 'lonely' urbanised people, living under 'loose' circumstances and without the security of settled family life. Durban provided her with a good example of these unsatisfactory living conditions.⁽⁷⁷⁾ By 1936 a number of other liberal Christian organisations, espousing a similar ideology of domesticity, had been established. These included the Bantu Girls' Friendly Society, headed by Bertha Mkhize, who was prominent in the I.C.U. Women's section and later the A.N.C., and Ruth Shabane.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The Bantu Women's Society was led by Kate Makanya and by 1935, was attracting over one hundred black women to its annual conference.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Daughters of Africa, similarly, gained some popularity during this period.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Liberal Christian ideology, which found expression in all of these voluntary organisations, apprehended the presence of African women in Durban in very different terms from that of the municipal N.A.D. African women were clearly to be the fulcrum of family life,

-
- (76) See Deborah Gaitskell, 'Housewives, Maids or Mothers: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg', unpublished African seminar paper, University of Cape Town, 1982, p.2. Gaitskell traces the genesis of an ideology of domesticity which emphasized the role of African women as 'homemaker'. Violet Makanya was closely linked to the Johannesburg missionary/liberal network. See also D. Gaitskell, 'Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in three Witwatersrand Churches, 1903-1939', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981.
- (77) N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6302-09, Evidence of S.V. Makanya.
- (78) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Box 62, File 323A, jkt.1, Report of the N.W.O., August 1936. Also interview with B.Mkhize, 27 August 1980.
- (79) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Box 60, File 315, jkt.1, Bantu Women's Society Conference, December 1935.
- (80) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Box 62, File 323A, jkt.1, D.L. Bopela to N.W.O., 2 February 1935. Mrs. N. Makanya was the 'Chairlady' of this Society. Also see interview with Albertina Mzimela, 23 September 1980.

hence the emphasis which liberals placed on the need to establish further African family housing in the town.

Clearly, the success of organisations such as the Joint Council and the S.A.I.R.R. in defusing the radicalism of previous years, depended upon their gaining the confidence of Durban's educated and Christian Africans. With this section of the population's support the liberals could neither be dismissed or ignored, precisely because African leaders alone could address Durban's masses.⁽⁸¹⁾ The liberal initiative to establish a Bantu Social Centre was well-received by members of the N.A.B. J.T. Rawlins had claimed that a Bantu Social Centre would 'have a great influence ... in building up decent native citizens, and would minimize the growing menace of disgruntled natives'.⁽⁸²⁾ Echoing such sentiments and suggesting the depth to which this liberal discourse had been absorbed by an African élite, Rev. Abner Mtinkulu, a close ally of John Dube, stated that the Social Centre would 'keep the natives off the street and from gossip of a political or undesirable nature'.⁽⁸³⁾ J.M. Ngcobo, the I.C.U. yase Natal representative on the N.A.B., claimed that the Social Centre would keep Africans 'away from crime and other vices' and would 'induce healthy recreation'.⁽⁸⁴⁾ However, the reality of Durban's Bantu Social Centre was somewhat different. The Centre was housed in a disused warehouse and had facilities

(81) See Hirson, 'Tuskegee, the Joint Councils, and the All African Convention', p.72. Hirson rightly points out that African leaders were the key to the success or failure of the Joint Council project.

(82) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 323A, jkt.3, Report of the N.W.O., February 1932.

(83) See Minutes of the N.A.C., Book 3, 21 November 1932. Rev. Mtinkulu was also a member of the N.A.B. and acted as John Dube's deputy after 1935. He was acting president of the A.N.C. in Natal during Dube's illness in the 1940's.

(84) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 17 February 1932.

for filmshows, concerts, boxing, billiards and sported a small library. It had a membership of only 300, a number of whom were devotees of boxing and billiards. 'European ballroom dancing' was reportedly popular with 'a fairly large and growing sophisticated group'. The 'unsophisticated' apparently preferred ngoma dancing. In short, the Social Centre was 'of considerable benefit to the more advanced and educated Africans'.⁽⁸⁵⁾ As for the majority of Africans, the beer hall, the steamy dance hall, the shebeens, the inadequate football fields and crowded open spaces frequented by ngoma dancers, not only provided recreation, but also "created expressive cultural images which served as repositories for emerging value systems".⁽⁸⁶⁾ These value systems, however, were articulated on contested territory, as the struggle over the existence of Durban's African dance halls was to indicate.

In 1931, draft regulations for the control of dance halls and meetings were formulated.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The regulations proposed greater police powers of intervention and required applications to be made to the Town Council before any gathering for entertainment or recreational purposes could take place. A strict curfew of 11 pm on all such gatherings was also imposed. The Chief Constable claimed that the Town Council, as 'custodians of the Native temporarily residing within the confines of the Borough', needed power which:

would obviate to a great extent the holding of meetings by agitators from other centres, who disseminate doctrines of resistance to

(85) C.W. Ould, 'Organisation of Spare-time Activities for Native Workers', p.32.

(86) See David Coplan, 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.5, No. 2, 1979, pp.140-41.

(87) The reason for these bye-laws, framed under Section 23 (3) (r) of the Amended Urban Areas Act of 1930, were directly related to the militancy of 1929-30.

constituted authority ... influence the minds of otherwise peacefully disposed members of the Native population; with results disastrous to the ... well-being of the town. (88)

The dance halls scattered throughout the town were perceived in similar terms: places where Africans could meet in a relatively socially diverse atmosphere, independent of the control of the municipal N.A.D. and police. (89) A particular target of the draft regulations was those dance halls run by African clubs, such as the Natal Workers' Club, which fell outside of existing regulations for the control of public dance halls.

The response of the N.A.B. members to the regulations, which were passed in February 1932, was uniformly condemnatory. One Board member, for example, described them as 'filthy' and not even worthy of a 'Dutch-speaking community'. (90) The new regulations, which followed closely on the heels of the newly-introduced curfew law, encouraged the popular belief that the Board members had been 'bought by the Europeans'. (91) The members of the N.A.B. threatened to dissolve the Board, while criticism of the Manager of the municipal N.A.D., who had refused to attend meetings of the Board despite the petitions of its members, (92) extended to include

(88) T.C.F. Native Dance Halls and Meetings, Vol.63, File 467c, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 8 February 1932

(89) See Raymond Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, p.43, for a valuable discussion of ruling classes' perceptions of oppositional meanings and practices within the subordinate classes.

(90) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 11 November 1931. These were the views of Ben Majola, representative for the Point Barracks.

(91) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 14 October 1931.

(92) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 17 June 1931.

white Town Councillors.⁽⁹³⁾ The anti-liberal measures embodied in the regulations were implemented and numerous prosecutions for the infringement of the bye-laws followed.⁽⁹⁴⁾ In one raid on the I.C.U. yase Natal dance hall in Prince Edward Street, 215 Africans were arrested.⁽⁹⁵⁾ When Champion returned to Durban in October 1933, all his attempts to hold mass meetings failed.⁽⁹⁶⁾ While meetings were banned, the dance hall developed into a crucial site for the articulation of a specifically urban form of recreation in Durban. Although the Durban Joint Council and the municipal N.A.D.'s perceptions of the "social danger" of the dance halls were not fundamentally different, the liberal reform movement did not share in the openly repressive prescriptions of the municipal N.A.D.

Durban's dance halls undoubtedly provided Africans with a strong sense of community. Alpheus Seme's dance hall in Umgeni Road was especially well-known since it was here that the popular pianist Mathwica usually played until the early hours of morning. C.D. Tusi, an old friend of George Champion, owned a dance hall in Fountain Lane. This well-worn haunt of amalaitas was notorious as a centre of 'rowdiness' and illicit liquor drinking. While white clergymen generally regarded dance halls as 'dubious haunts of terpsichorean and alcoholic bliss',⁽⁹⁷⁾ petitions from white

(93) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol.57, File 232A, jkt.2, Notes of a speech made by Councillor McCafferty, 9 July 1931. McCafferty pointed out that the function of the N.A.B. as a 'safety valve' was negated by the municipal N.A.D.'s policy. Layman was accused of being responsible for the deficits of the N.R.A. and the destruction of Durban's national reputation as a town known 'for promoting a fair and reasonable policy in Native affairs'.

(94) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 10 May 1933.

(95) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Box 62, File 232A, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 29 January 1935.

(96) T.C.F. Native Dance Halls and Meetings, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, C.C. to T.C., 13 October 1933.

(97) Natal Mercury, 28 August 1930.

burgesses demanding the closure of dance halls and the proclamation of the localities in which they fell, were sent to the Town Council thick and fast. (98)

A contemporary description of the I.C.U. yase Natal's dance hall provides some fascinating insights into the way in which these institutions gave expressive form to the emergence of an urban black cultural identity. The audience at the dance hall:

comprised every type, young bucks in waistcoats and Oxford trousers ... through all possible grades and shades of shirts and collars to the collarless and the coatless, to men with hair plaited in porcupine spikes and women in nothing much but brass wire and beads ... the choir sang an anthem about the captivity of Sion. (99)

The dance hall was equally accommodating of both European ballroom and 'traditional' dancing, while domestic servants appeared to be as much at home in this atmosphere as the 'young bucks' in waistcoats and Oxford trousers. The establishment of the African Social Club by John Nduli in 1933, took things somewhat further. The Club was clearly established as a rival to the Bantu Social Centre and it gained a reputation for being a 'depot of female impersonators'. J.M. Ngcobo, perhaps fearing the competition which the African Social Club posed to the I.C.U. dance hall, was content with likening it to Sodom and Gomorrah. (100)

At the I.C.U. yase Natal headquarters, musical entertainment

(98) See, for example, T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol. 63, File 467, jkt.1, J. Foye to Minister of Justice, 12 February 1931.

(99) See M. Perham, African Apprenticeship, pp.197-201.

(100) T.C.F. Native Dance Halls and Meetings, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, J.M. Ngcobo to Licensing Officer, 13 June 1933.

became an important facet of the dying organisation's activities. Music groups, such as the Dam Dakies from Pretoria, the Mad Boys from the Reef, the Famous Broadway Entertainers, the Evening Birds, the I.C.U. Moonlight Six, the Zulu Male Voice Choir, the Blue Dam Bees of the M.M. Club, and the Amamzintoti Midnight Follies, all appeared at the I.C.U. Hall during the early thirties. H. Msomi, the prominent I.C.U. yase Natal organizer of 1929, surrendered his position as activist and settled into the novel position of 'Stage Manager'. Africans were encouraged into the I.C.U. Hall with the slogan: 'The more we are together the (more) happy we will Be'.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The changing character of the I.C.U. yase Natal is suggestive of certain general tendencies within African political organisations in Durban during the early thirties.

African political organisations in Durban, the I.C.U. yase Natal particularly, dissolved into extreme factionalism between 1930 and 1936. During this period, Durban witnessed little industrial action, and when strike action was taken by dockworkers in 1932 (supported by the A.F.T.U.), the result was a massive loss of jobs at a time of deep depression and unemployment.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The gains made by disaffected non-unionized workers, who sought recourse to strike action, were negligible.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The repression of struggles in the workplace, the proscription of political opposition and the N.A.B's inability to substantially influence the policies of the municipal N.A.D., encouraged the politicisation of African sport and recreation. The dance hall regulations had been vociferously opposed by all Africans in Durban because these social institutions represented an area in which Africans

(101) See Forman Papers, BC 581 B22.9, Leaflet Advertising a Concert at the I.C.U. Hall, 15 June 1932.

(102) Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.275.

(103) See p.243 above.

could claim some freedom of cultural expression. Whereas the shebeen was illegal, the beer hall unsociable and male-oriented, the dance hall, often run on a commercial basis, offered a unique adaptation of the 'traditional' sociability of the beer drink or communal dance, to urban conditions. Durban's African petty bourgeoisie, including the fractured I.C.U. yase Natal⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and N.N.C. leadership, were prominent in the ownership and activities of the dance halls. This would seem to suggest that, while the attempts of the local state to co-opt a small section of Durban's African population through the N.A.B. might have partially succeeded, in other areas of African social life such favourable outcomes to this strategy could not be uniformly guaranteed or achieved. The particular danger which white liberals perceived to be present in dance halls was undoubtedly the blurring of class distinctions within their walls and the creation, at least potentially, of a unified African identity.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ When the

(104) J.M. Ngcobo took over Champion's position as Provincial Secretary of the I.C.U. yase Natal after the latter's banishment from Natal. In 1932, the I.C.U. yase Natal split into two rival factions: one led by J.M. Ngcobo and the other, at times called the I.C.U. Club yase Natal, led by J.J. Macebo. J.M. Ngcobo who had been prominent in the opposition of 1929, then attempted to establish an alliance with the National I.C.U. through John Dube. See Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.310, note 59. On Champion's return to Durban in 1933 he re-established the Natal Workers' Club in Old Dutch Road and refused to join up with the United I.C.U., which had been established in January 1934. J.M. Ngcobo was Provincial Secretary of the United I.C.U., J.T. Gumede was National President and Clements Kadalie, General Secretary. Champion's I.C.U. yase Natal apparently lost most of its membership to the United I.C.U. Ngcobo claimed that the United I.C.U. had a membership of 6 000. See T.C.F. Native Dance Halls and Meetings, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, J. Ngcobo to Licensing Officer, 13 June 1933. Champion's I.C.U. yase Natal allegedly had a membership of 50.

(105) For a useful discussion of the forging of a cultural system which could "materially express both the class distinctions and an overall unifying identity of emerging African society", see D. Coplan, 'The Johannesburg Entertainment Industry', pp.138-142.

Bantu Social Centre was established in 1933, one alternative to this levelling process was realised.

Independence and Control: Ngoma Dance and African Sport

Both C.F. Layman and the Chief Constable had always maintained that the gathering of African dance groups, in open areas of the town, was undesirable.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ J.T. Rawlins, however, made a concerted attempt to formally organize African group dancing. Although these dances were drawn from rural traditions, over time, Zulu dance forms had become greatly diversified. For example, ngoma dancing, which was based in the traditional idiom, had been developed by African migrant workers in Durban as far back as 1910.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The N.W.O. 'discovered' that African-organised ngoma dances were 'being held in Durban on an extensive scale'.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ In early 1931, the N.W.O. called a meeting of the African organisers of various sporting bodies, such as the Durban and District Native (African) Football Association (D.D.A.F.A.), and motivated that a body, 'which would be able to furnish the Town Council with the true position of Native sport', be formed.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ In May 1931, the Bantu Recreational Grounds Association (B.R.G.A.) was formed 'with the object of fostering sport among the Native community and controlling the grounds so as to enable better allocation among the various affiliated sporting bodies'.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

(106) See, for example, T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.1, Layman to T.C., 20 May 1930. Layman expected to be inundated with requests for permission to hold ngoma dances; see also Chapter 5, p.229 above.

(107) See Programme of the Natal Native Dancing Championships, May 1939, (Copy in Killie Campbell Library, Durban); also see J. Clegg, 'Dance and Society in Africa South of the Sahara', unpublished B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1977, p.39.

(108) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.2, Report of the N.W.O., November 1931.

(109) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59A, File 352, jkt.2, Report on Durban Bantu Recreational Association, 9 February 1931.

(110) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59A, File 352, jkt.2, J.T. Rawlins to T.C., 25 April 1931.

With the backing of the B.R.G.A., the N.W.O. embarked on a programme to encourage African workers to participate in municipally-controlled ngoma dancing.

Although some African clergymen expressed fears that by encouraging ngoma dancing, many Africans would be forced back into 'heathendom',⁽¹¹¹⁾ demands from workers in barracks that they be allowed to dance freely, were received by the Town Council.⁽¹¹²⁾ By 1933, the N.W.O. had obtained a field specifically allocated for ngoma dances. Although initially resistant to being organised in this way, the 'raw unchristianized Natives' were, by 1933, holding dances under the careful scrutiny of the N.W.O., Chief Constable and Borough Police. The control of this popular form of recreation served a number of purposes. It provided cheap popular recreation for workers and supplied an alternative to the patronage of shebeens over weekends, an activity which always carried with it the threat of labour disruption. Furthermore, the holding of ngoma dance competitions encouraged divisions within Durban's African popular classes.

Certainly, white officials understood ngoma dancing to be a form of recreation, unlike the "melting pot", provided by the dance hall, for 'uncivilized' (migrant) workers. However, the line between using "traditional" Zulu dancing as a means of social control and the potentially oppositional character of ngoma dancing, was a fine one. For example, "faction fighting" between different dance groups was not an unusual occurrence.⁽¹¹³⁾ One violent clash in 1934 between two factions led by Mumagudi and Makuluskop led the municipal N.A.D. to prohibit ngoma dancing for a number of months. The singing of rubo's and the act of gwiyaing (both

(111) See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 14 September 1932. These were the views of Rev. Mtimkulu.

(112) See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 18 June 1930.

(113) See Chapter 5, p. 229 above.

used in the days of the Zulu Kingdom as a prelude to open combat with foes) were also banned.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Although the records are silent about the "tribal" or clan composition of these factions, it is very likely that such clashes were examples of displaced aggression amongst Durban's African workers and possibly expressions of intra-working class competition for jobs.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Evidence that unemployed and lumpen elements in the town were finding a place within the ranks of ngoma dancers and re-organizing them along amalaita lines, would indicate that explanations for such "faction fights" need to be related to popular economic grievances.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Yet, the oft-expressed reluctance of native administration and police officials to sanction any ngoma dancing, clearly related to fears of a self-consciousness "Zulu" nationalism which had played an increasingly important role in the articulation of popular opposition in the town. Indeed, in Durban the language of ethnic identity had frequently been interwoven with the language of class solidarity and African nationalism. During the urban militancy of the late twenties and early thirties this was particularly evident. Utshwala, for example was not referred to simply as beer, but as 'Zulu beer'. While Johannes Nkosi had told Africans attending meetings of the C.P.S.A. of the need to disregard ethnic distinctions,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Champion often referred to workers as

(114) See T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.6, Police Statements re ingoma dance disturbances, October 1934. After these clashes a strict set of conditions were laid down under which future dances could be held.

(115) See Phimister and van Onselen, 'The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity', p.41. As this case-study points out, this was clearly the case in the Bulawayo "faction fight".

(116) See T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.6, C.C. to T.C., 11 October 1934. Other reports also suggested that dancers were really amalaitas 'in disguise'.

(117) See Chapter 4, p.196 above.

'Zulu workers'. As early as 1916 one African clergyman, outraged at the expressions of wartime loyalty which some Africans had accorded the British Crown, told a crowd: 'this rag (pointing to a Union Jack) is not yours, it is the European's flag. Our flag in Zululand was an oxtail and an assegai'. (118)

These expressions of "Zulu" nationalism had invariably been met, at least before 1920, with a negative response from municipal officials in Durban and the government N.A.D. Even the apparently innocent attempts of Rev. Shibe of the Zulu Congregational Church to solicit contributions from Africans in Durban for the erection of a tombstone on Dinizulu's grave, had met with the strong disapproval of the Chief Native Commissioner. (119) Similarly, in 1931, Durban's Native Administration Committee rejected the request of the Treasurer of the Inkatha Ka Zulu, Chief Gilbert Majosi, for funds to erect a memorial to Shaka. (120)

However, after 1931 the official suspicion of any expression of Zulu ethnic identity, tempered by an understanding of the potential ideological and political benefits flowing from the recognition and conservation of Zulu "traditions" and symbols,

(118) T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.1, Report of Togt Inspector Hine, 15 August 1916. The clergyman in question was Rev. Magwaza.

(119) See Minutes of the N.A.P.F.B. Committee, 20 April 1920. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp.63-4 for the background to Shibe's secession from the American Zulu Mission.

(120) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.1, Layman to T.C., 6 July 1931. This organisation was founded in 1923. For some comments on its formation see Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', pp.188-90.

gave way to a slightly more tolerant official attitude.⁽¹²¹⁾ The formal recognition and control of ngoma dancing in Durban after 1930, can be understood in this context. The N.W.O. encouraged traditional Zulu figureheads such as Chief Mshiyeni (Solomon's successor) to attend ngoma dancing competitions. Clearly this was seen as a means of endorsing the traditional/potentially conservative character of ngoma dances. In 1936, for example, both John Dube and Mshiyeni congratulated the Town Council after attending, not for the first time, a gathering of over 800 African dancers at the recreation grounds. In 1932 the Native Welfare Officer openly contributed towards the Shaka Memorial Fund.⁽¹²²⁾

However, the process of co-opting "traditional" Zulu practices was filled with contradictions, as has been noted above in relation to "faction fighting" and the presence of amalaitas in dance groups. The initiatives from above to resuscitate and control traditional symbols, such as ngoma and the Zulu Royal Family, were often met with the independent appropriation and utilisation of such symbols by ordinary African people. When Durban's second Native Welfare Officer reported on a Basuto-Zulu football match which took place on Moshweshwe

(121) Shula Marks discusses the distinct change in attitude of certain whites in Natal and Zululand, particularly the sugar-planter, G. Heaton-Nicholls, towards the Zulu Royal Family in the mid-twenties. Marks ascribes the increasing expression of "Zulu nationalism" to previous attempts by whites to strip the Zulu Royal Family of its 'pretensions'. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', p.179, p.187. Natal's African petty bourgeoisie were supportive of white attempts to recognize the special position of the Zulu king. See also Shula Marks, 'John Dube and the Ambiguities of Nationalism in Early Twentieth Century Natal', unpublished paper presented to International Conference on the History of Ethnic Awareness in Southern Africa, University of Virginia, April 1983.

(122) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.3, Report of the N.W.O., 10 August 1932.

Day in 1935,⁽¹²³⁾ it is likely that he would have also been aware of the relative organisational independence of African football in the town. It is to this area of popular association in Durban that we must now turn.

The establishment, in rapid succession, of a Native Cricket Club, the Durban Native Lawn Tennis Association, the Native Sports Committee, and the Bantu Sports Club during the early thirties, was by no means fortuitous. Such sporting organisations, encouraged by representatives of the liberal reform movement such as Howard Pim and J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, as well as Rev. Ray Phillips and Rev. J.D. Taylor (both of the A.B.M.), were a consummate expression of the liberal notion of channelling 'superfluous energies' along 'proper' lines. However, the history of African sport in Durban was not spontaneously generated in the portals of the Bantu Social Centre or at the inception of the B.R.G.A. African football in South Africa has a history which can be traced back to Natal in the 1890's.⁽¹²⁴⁾

The Durban and District African Football Association (D.D.A. F.A.) was probably founded in 1907.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The A.B.M. stations of Amamzimtoti, Ifafa and Inanda had taken the lead in organising football teams at the turn of the century. One well-known team, Bush Bucks, had been founded by Rev. Onslow Carlton of Ifafa Mission.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Workers in Durban formed teams such

(123) T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Box 60, File 315, jkt.1, Report of the N.W.O., January 1935.

(124) Tim Couzens, 'An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa', in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Country-side in the Transvaal, p.200.

(125) Couzens, 'History of African Football in South Africa', p.201. B. Evans, veteran sports organiser in Durban, claimed the D.D.A.F.A. was founded in 1915. The D.D.A. F.A. was originally called the Durban and District Native Football Association.

(126) B. Magubane, 'Sport and Politics in an Urban African Community - A case study of African Voluntary Organisations', unpublished M.Soc.Sci. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1963, p.6.

as the Vultures and the Wanderers. These urban-based teams appeared to have had an edge over the mission-based teams because they were exposed to more football in the town. In 1920, a Natal Native Football Association was formed, and by 1924 the D.D.A.F.A. comprised three distinct sections. In order to make the running of the Association more efficient, a number of administrative sub-committees were also created. The leadership of the D.D.A.F.A. was recruited from Durban's mission-educated African élite. John Dube and his brothers, William and Charles, were prominent football organisers, as was the Rev. Abner Mtimkulu. The Secretary of the Natal Native Teachers' Association, Albert Lutuli, was elected president of the D.D.A.F.A. in 1932.⁽¹²⁷⁾ By 1932, this mission-educated élite administered an organisation which had forty five football teams affiliated to it.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Although the D.D.A.F.A. operated in an environment where local authority was not especially supportive of African sport, it assisted other struggling sporting clubs financially, and preached unity and co-operation between all sections of the African population.⁽¹²⁹⁾ The self-conscious middle-class nationalism which appears evident amongst the leadership of the D.D.A.F.A., is suggested by the adoption of English as the Association's official language. If Zulu were used, the D.D.A.F.A. claimed, 'other nationalities would suffer'.⁽¹³⁰⁾

According to one white official, Durban's African footballers had, prior to 1932, been 'booted out by the Durban Corporation

(127) For Lutuli's streak of "fierce football fanaticism", see A. Lutuli, Let My People Go (London, 1982), p.35.

(128) The names of these football teams, taken from the natural world or suggestive of a history of struggle, are highly illuminating. See Appendix XXIII.

(129) Magubane, 'Sport and Politics', pp.14-15.

(130) Magubane, 'Sport and Politics', p.15.

from one football ground to another'.⁽¹³¹⁾ In 1932 the B.R.G.A. secured five football fields for African players. However, the attempts to bring the D.D.A.F.A. under municipal control in 1931 through the B.R.G.A., were largely unsuccessful. The D.D.A.F.A. agreed to affiliate and to pay a ten per cent gate fee to the B.R.G.A. However, the mistrust of the motives of the B.R.G.A. - 'the intermediary body between the Bantu and the Town Council in all matters appertaining to sport'-⁽¹³²⁾ does not appear to have disappeared. At one stage, white referees intervened and took control of Association matches, officials queried the books of the D.D.A.F.A. and the shortage of fields led to, as one perceptive white official put it, 'the usefulness of the association being called into question'.⁽¹³³⁾

African sport in Durban (football particularly) provided a relatively independent means for the expression of both class distinctions and the overall unifying identity of an emergent African urban culture.⁽¹³⁴⁾ When an independent Native Sports

(131) Nelson Howard of the Native Recruiting Company, quoted by Magubane, 'Sport and Politics', p.16. The Durban Joint Council also pushed for the provision of adequate football fields.

(132) See the Constitution of the B.R.G.A. in T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59, File 352, jkt.3, All African sporting bodies were to fall under the umbrella of the B.R.G.A. The Executive Council comprised the Chairman of the N.A.C., the N.W.O. and two N.A.B. members (one white and one black). The D.D.A.F.A. had five representatives on the Association and the tennis and cricket sections, only two.

(133) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59, File 352, jkt.2, D. Evans to T.C., 1932. These were the views of D. Evans, an official of the Somtseu location. Evans was one of the few whites who were active in the D.D.A.F.A.

(134) David Coplan discusses the role of music in the development of a cultural symbolic system amongst Johannesburg's African population. D. Coplan, 'The Johannesburg Entertainment Industry', p.161. It would appear that African football in Durban served a similar role.

Committee was established in 1931 it comprised, almost entirely, of individuals who were also members, either of the A.N.C., the N.A.B., the I.C.U. yase Natal, or of religious organisations. The success of the Durban's N.W.O. in incorporating part of the alternative potential embodied in African voluntary sporting associations was limited. Even though Rawlins maintained that Durban's claim as the 'pioneers' in connection with the provision of African welfare 'could not be disputed', (135) the attempts by liberal representatives of the local state to minimize the repressive nature of local rule, and to secure the confidence of a repressed African petty bourgeoisie, achieved uneven and contradictory results. In a number of ways the initiative had been taken away from popular associational forms. Dance halls were governed by a web of bye-laws, some had been forced to close and their patrons, depending on whether they were 'raw' and 'tribalized' or 'educated' and 'civilized', were shown the road either to the Bantu Social Centre or to the ngoma dance ground. Similarly, the 'self-respecting Native' who refused to patronize the beer halls, could play billiards or bagatelle in the Bantu Social Centre, although he might just as easily be arrested for brewing liquor domestically. (136) African sport, however, with its long history of organisation, appeared to be one area of African association which maintained itself relatively independent of municipal co-option or control.

The liberalism of the Joint Councils found its clearest expression at the level of local government in Durban, through the N.W.O. However, by 1934 it appears that this liberalism was coming under increasing fire from the municipal N.A.D.

(135) T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59, File 352, jkt.2, N.W.O. to T.C., 25 April 1931. Rawlins denied a claim made in Umteteli wa Bantu that Johannesburg pioneered the African Welfare Programme.

(136) See N.E.C., Minutes of Evidence, pp.6386-87. Father Kerautret of the Catholic African Union claimed that 'self-respecting Africans' refused to frequent beer halls.

For example, J.T. Rawlins had apparently identified his office, and hence local government, too closely with J.M. Ngcobo's I.C.U. yase Natal. In 1932, Rawlins accompanied by the Mayor, Rev. Lamont, had attended a Conference of the Union. (137)

However, at the end of 1933 Durban's liberal Mayor, Rev. Lamont died after three years in office. Support for liberal initiatives, at the level of the Town Council, lessened, and the continuing independence and liberal tendencies of the N.W.O. seems to have caused conflict within the local state. The evidence would suggest that this conflict was resolved in favour of the more repressive policies advocated by the Manager of the municipal N.A.D. for, in April 1934, J.T. Rawlins was forced to resign his position. (138) An associate of C.F. Layman who was a descendant of Theophilus Shepstone, A.W.B. Shepstone, replaced Durban's first Welfare Officer. In 1936 the Welfare Office lost its autonomy and came directly under the control of the Manager of the municipal N.A.D.

In 1935 the new N.W.O. turned down an invitation to attend a meeting at the Natal Workers' Club, at which prominent members of various African organisations were to be present. The Secretary of the Club, D.L. Bopela, not only criticized the N.W.O.'s loss of independence, but also hinted at a more widespread popular disillusion with liberal reform initiatives:

This office (N.W.O.) was created for the purpose of affording the Corporation an opportunity of ascertaining Native grievances. If it were placed under the control of the Manager of Native Affairs how could it report Native grievances to the Council? ... When the

(137) See T.C.F. Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55, File 315, jkt.3, Report of the N.W.O., July 1932.

(138) Minutes of the N.A.C., Book 4, 20 March 1934. It was widely believed by Africans that Rawlins had been fired because of his contact with the leaders of African political organisations in Durban. See, for example, T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Box 62, File 323A, D.L. Bopela to T.C., 9 February 1935; and Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 9 May 1934.

popularity of the Natal Workers' Club ... became evident on account of meetings held there by Chiefs, Teachers and various recreational bodies, the idea of a Bantu Social Centre was conceived. Many Natives think that the vendetta against Native (Dance) Halls is to bring Natives to the Social Centre ... But it will fail if it is governed with partiality. It will be like the Joint Council which has no power because it is controlled by biased Europeans. (139)

Shortly afterwards, one hundred policemen raided the premises of the Natal Workers' Club in Old Dutch Road and arrested ninety-one members of the Club. The struggle to 'defuse Native passions', which had partly been taken up at the level of recreation and entertainment had no single, easily-definable outcome. In some historical instances, as Gareth Stedman Jones has stated, struggles fought around "leisure-time" were "no more than the epilogues of struggles fought out in the course of the working week".⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ A codicil might be added to this statement, namely, that in general terms these "two struggles" are part of a single reality. In Durban, between 1930 and 1936, the struggles over popular recreation and cultural forms were a central part of this single, complex reality.

Beer Brewing and Proclamation in the Early Thirties

The moves by local government in Durban to enforce the segregatory provisions of the Urban Areas Act, initially foundered. Whereas the Johannesburg City Council used the Slums Act of 1934, in conjunction with the proclamation of the city, to "devastating effect",⁽¹⁴¹⁾ local authority in Durban struggled

(139) T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Box 62, File 323A, Executive Committee, Natal Workers' Club to T.C. 10 February 1935.

(140) Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Class Expression versus Social Control', p.169. For a different emphasis, see Eileen and Stephen Yeo, 'Ways of Seeing: Control and Leisure versus Class and Struggle', in E. and S. Yeo (eds.), Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure (Sussex, 1981), pp.144-51.

(141) Koch, 'The Destruction of Marabi Culture ; Urban Segregation in Johannesburg, 1923-1938', p.205.

to push through its programme of urban segregation.

Between 1929 and 1932, the proclamation of three districts of Durban had revealed the extent to which Africans were living, often under extremely overcrowded conditions, in "white" areas. Police raids which followed upon the proclamations also exposed, at least temporarily, the extent and scale of illicit liquor brewing, which during the depression years of 1930 to 1933, had significantly increased.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The 'problem' of illicit liquor brewing in unproclaimed areas, especially those areas now forming part of the town following the extension of the Borough boundary, was pointed out by the District Commandant of the S.A.P., who claimed that:

Many property owners or occupiers, European and non-European, allow natives who are not in their employ to reside on their premises, and in this manner many undesirable natives are attracted to those areas, and to an extent are thus given facilities for brewing or dealing in illicit liquor which would not otherwise be. (143)

In 1934, in a small area of Greyville (proclaimed in 1931), 105 Africans, a third of whom were women, were "warned" to move into municipal accommodation immediately.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ In the same area a year later, however, the police reported that 1 117 gallons of beer and 700 gallons of isitshimiyane were destroyed during raids. Fifty-eight Africans were convicted under the Liquor Act, and twelve Indian landlords prosecuted for 'harbouring Natives in a proclaimed area'. In the wider neighbourhood, over 3 957 gallons of illicit liquor were

(142) African convictions for the possession of utshwala were massive. See Appendix XVII.

(143) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.5, District Commandant of the S.A.P. to T.C., 18 November 1933.

(144) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 5, C.F. Layman to Acting T.C., 14 February 1934.

destroyed and 515 Africans prosecuted for liquor offences.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Long-standing Indian residents in this area petitioned for the eradication of this illicit liquor trade. They claimed that:

Beyond emptying the contents of the tin(s) and smashing (them) up the Police have not been able to do anything further. No sooner the back of the Police is turned, the Brewers draw fresh supplies from underground where huge stocks of Brewed Beer is kept. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

White residents invariably supported their demands for the implementation of segregationist measures by providing evidence of widespread liquor brewing and selling in their wards.

The resilience and scale of these brewing activities extended into all parts of the city, and not merely the Greyville district. For most whites, African liquor brewing provided one means of apprehending the "undesirable" presence of blacks in the town. However, it also indicated a resolve on the part of Africans to affirm their unrecognised status as permanent urban dwellers. The independent means of subsistence which the brewing of beer provided for many Africans, directly contradicted the efforts of the local state to limit the number of Africans in the city according to local labour requirements.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ For some members of Durban's aspirant African middle class, the clinging aroma of aged utshwala, and other brews, effectively quashed their hopes of gaining exemption from the conditions of the Urban Areas Act.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Many applications for exemption were dismissed because of the

(145) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.6, C.C. to T.C., 1 May 1935.

(146) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.1, M.K. Pillay and 20 others to Mayor, 15 April 1935.

(147) In 1935, the Young-Barrett Committee dealt with this question. See pp.288-9 below.

(148) Africans living in areas proclaimed in terms of the Act were obliged to seek accommodation in municipal locations.

applicant's supposed direct or indirect contact with shebeens. For example, A.M. Ngcobo, ex-general secretary of the I.C.U., was refused accommodation outside of Somtseu location on the grounds that only 'hovels' and 'liquor dens' would be available to him. J.G. Mngadi, ex-secretary of Durban's N.N.C. branch, was refused exemption because he lived in a yard where a shebeen trade 'enticed Natives from the Bantu Social Centre'. (149)

By 1934, only four areas of Durban had been proclaimed. Many Africans, who for decades had managed to consolidate their hold on areas beyond the municipal African quarters, vigorously expressed their opposition to these segregatory measures. (150) The United I.C.U. claimed that, 'as a result of this intended wholesale segregation of our people in this Borough all Natives therein are in a state of unsettlement'. (151) In addition, the United I.C.U. called for the legalisation of home-brewing. (152) The demands of the United I.C.U. for home-brewing were undoubtedly based in a constituency which, with the impact of the Pact government's white labour policy, and only the glimmerings of the post-depression dawn in sight, had come to rely wholly, or in part, on the informal sale of liquor.

After 1934, segregationist measures in Durban were enforced with a greater measure of circumspection. This stemmed, not

(149) See T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.2, C.C. to T.C., 11 April 1936; and Sergeant T.W. Blair to C.C., 22 May 1936.

(150) See, for example, Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 10 May 1935.

(151) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 5, A.M. Ngcobo to municipal N.A.D., 26 February 1934.

(152) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt. 5, J.M. Ngcobo to T.C., 18 April 1936.

so much from the protestations of black subject classes, as from the intervention of the central state, which expressed increasing disquiet over the state of slum areas and the inadequate alternative African housing in the city. The Union government's Secretary of Native Affairs sternly noted the:

unsatisfactory state of affairs existing in certain portions of your corporation's area ... the uncontrolled intermingling of Natives and Europeans who reside cheek by jowl ... lawlessness and generally undesirable social conditions are prevalent. It is clear that the only remedy for these conditions is the application to the areas in question of the segregation provisions ... of the urban areas act, but such application would be of no effect unless significant housing accommodation had been provided ... for the Natives whose removal was desired. (153)

A study of housing in one area of the city suggests the gravity of the problem facing the local state. In Ward Three, close to the city centre, a census by the Borough Police revealed that 300 African labourers resided on private premises; of 2 214 workers in business concerns 1 308 were accommodated on the premises. If this area were to be proclaimed, municipal accommodation for 2 714 Africans would be required. (154) This was a conjuring trick which the N.R.A., battered by the boycott and under the careful scrutiny of the central government, could not perform. The resultant extreme shortage of African housing was not alleviated by the eventual establishment of a location in the city.

(153) T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.6, Secretary of Native Affairs to T.C., 31 October 1934.

(154) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.1, Acting C.C. to T.C., 28 December 1934.

The Central State Intervenes: Lamontville, the Young-Barrett Committee and the Takeover of the Borough Police, 1934-1936

The Umlazi 'native village' was opened in 1934. The location occupied 425 acres of land and in 1935 was re-named Lamontville (usually referred to simply as Lamont) in honour of the late Mayor, Rev. A. Lamont.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ However, the hope expressed by the Town Council 'that the permanent population of Natives established at Umlazi will feel that there is a definite effort on the part of Durban to give them a place in the body politic',⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ proved to be as illusory as the powers invested by local government in the "goodwill" N.A.B. D.L. Bopela, representative of the I.C.U. yase Natal on the Advisory Board, claimed that Lamont was 'not a "village" in the true sense of the word' where Africans could 'reside freely as a community'. Moreover, rents were too high, the cost of daily transport for workers travelling into Durban could not be borne by most Africans, women could not trade, and spaces for vegetable gardens were not provided.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ The first one hundred houses of Lamont were filled slowly and with no excessive enthusiasm by Durban's Christian African population. The municipal N.A.D. decided to extend the location by two hundred houses through Central Housing Board loans, in order to accommodate Africans uprooted from other areas of the town. However, it was rapidly becoming clear that the Durban system was unable to adequately cope with the social costs of massive urbanisation and industrial expansion.

When the Minister of Native Affairs gave his consent for the establishment of Lamont, it was on the condition that any

(155) Champion suggested the name. See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 2, 10 April 1935.

(156) Mayor's Minute, 1933, p.7.

(157) Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 18 April 1934.

losses on the N.R.A. occasioned by the scheme, would be borne by white property owners through the General Rates Fund. By 1936 the losses on Lamont amounted to £14 000 and showed no sign of diminishing. Because of the low level of wages in Durban, Africans occupying Lamont could not be expected to pay economic rentals. However, by 1934 the N.R.A. (and particularly beer revenue), which in the past had served to cover the difference between the cost of African housing and rentals which Africans could afford, was no longer in a position to bear these costs.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ For three successive years, from 1932 to 1934, Durban's N.R.A. had shown net losses.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The recognition by central government of the crisis facing urban centres in South Africa was given formal expression through the constitution of a committee under J.M. Young and A.L. Barrett in 1935. The Young-Barrett Committee was appointed to enquire into and report upon the residence of Africans in urban areas. The Committee was also requested to suggest an appropriate form for legislation which would (i) enforce the principle of limiting African influx according to labour requirements, (ii) provide control of entry of Africans into towns, and (iii) provide for the withdrawal of "superfluous" Africans from urban areas. Its report condemned Stallardism as 'a highly immoral line of reasoning' and stated that:

we have made a point of testing the feeling of the various local authorities on the proposition that every municipal location ought to be regarded purely as a reservoir of Native labour, from which the worn-out labourer must

(158) For an in-depth report on the Lamont Village and criticisms thereof, see T.C.F. Native Locations, Box 18, jkt.1, File 49, Report by Inspector of Native Urban Locations in Regard to Natives in Durban - in terms of Section 11(4) of Act No.21 of 1923, August 1936.

(159) See Appendix XIII.

be required to depart when he no longer ministers to the needs of the white man ... In Natal the average opinion expressed was in the sense that the theory might be convenient but it would certainly not be fair, even in that Province where nearly every town is within easy reach of a Native Reserve. (160)

The 1936 Census revealed that Durban's African population had expanded from 44 783 in 1921, to 63 547 in 1936. The African female population increased dramatically over the same period. By 1936 an estimated 14 234 African females were living in the city. A conservative estimate put the number of African unemployed and unemployable at 11 000.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ African vagrancy and 'juvenile delinquency' experienced a marked increase during this period, while the Natal Mercury reported that unregistered African women were brewing isitshimiyane 'in rivers'.⁽¹⁶²⁾ A Special Committee on Native Affairs, appointed in Durban in 1935, also reported 'an alarming increase' in the number of Africans entering Durban. This committee reiterated the findings of the Young-Barrett Committee. Three of Durban's prominent liberals submitted a Memorandum to the Special Committee in which it was claimed that:

We feel it to be important for the Municipality to recognize that there is in Durban a large permanent Native population, permanently

(160) Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into and report upon the Question of Residence of Natives in Urban Areas, 1935, para. 15 quoted in T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt, The Right to Land (Cape Town, 1974), p.71. The Committee's report was hostile to the policy envisaged by the Hertzog government and was not published at the time. See also T.R.H. Davenport 'The Triumph of Colonel Stallard', p.8.

(161) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.3, Native Housing Survey 1935. For a breakdown of African job occupations see Appendix XXIV. Over 8 710 Africans lived in privately-licensed barracks.

(162) See Natal Mercury, 10 May 1935.

separated from tribal life entirely dependent upon their earnings for their livelihood. (163)

Both liberals and officials in the municipal N.A.D. noted that a massive influx of Africans into Durban, in conjunction with the expulsion of Africans from the central areas of the city, was leading to the creation of a "black belt" of slums (the most notorious being Mayville and Sydenham) and sprawling squatter settlements in the outlying areas of the enlarged city. In these areas, shebeens and a drinking culture survived the intermittent raids of the S.A.P. J.C. Smuts, Minister of Native Affairs, was unequivocal about the dangers of this massive growth of South Africa's urban African population. Smuts described urbanisation as 'a movement of enormous dimensions' which might lead to 'revolutionary social and economic changes'. He also saw the centrality of 'maintaining law and order' which was threatened by the 'overcrowding of a semi-barbarous population in our towns'. (164) The take-over, by central government, of the forces of law and order in Durban in 1936, represented the active attempt of the state to square with the reality which Smuts had sketched in such urgent terms. The decision of the central state to take over the policing of the whole of Durban from the Borough Police was part of wider state initiatives to centralize urban control.

Since its founding in 1876, the Borough Police, unlike the police in other South African towns, had managed to remain independent of the control of the central government. In Durban the local state had fiercely resisted the various attempts made

(163) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.1, Memorandum on Durban Municipal Native Policy submitted by E.H. Brookes, D.G. Shepstone and Maurice Webb, 22 May 1935. Brookes and Shepstone were subsequently invited onto the Committee.

(164) Notes on Conference Between Municipalities and Native Affairs Department Held At Pretoria on 28th and 29th September, 1937, to Discuss the Provisions of the Native Laws Amendment Act (No.46 of 1937), U.G. 56-37, p.2.

by the central state to grant the S.A.P. control of policing in the town. For example, in 1925 a petition bearing the signatures of 12 202 white burgesses protested against a proposed takeover initiated by the Pact government. One indignant Town Councillor stated that the government was attempting 'to Dutchify this part of British South Africa'.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Until 1930, attempts to take over the Borough Police were unsuccessful. Both municipal officials and white taxpayers realized that if the S.A.P. were to take over the Borough Police, whites would be forced to bear the costs of more expensive policing. The revenue from the municipal beer monopoly had, since 1909, been syphoned off for the purpose of financing the policing of the town. Legally, it was permissible to use this revenue only for areas of policing which affected Africans in the town. It seems apparent from evidence given to the Native Economic Commission that these funds had been utilised, not only for general policing, but also for the purposes of balancing the General Borough Fund.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ A takeover of the Borough Police by the S.A.P. would not only remove one area of autonomy crucial to the Durban system, but also force white taxpayers to bear a greater burden of the social costs of African labour.

Until 1930 the Borough Police maintained its autonomy. However, in 1930 the municipality lost its responsibility over 'serious crime' in the town, to the S.A.P. The municipality, therefore, also lost revenue accruing from bail and fines in

(165) T.C.F. Taking Over Police By Government, Vol.5, File 19J, jkt.2, J.H. Kemp to Mayor, 5 August, 1925.

(166) See N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, pp.6446-7, Evidence of the Durban Municipal Council. There is no "hard" evidence to prove this point since the reply of the Council representative to the Commission was a neat circumlocution. It seems highly likely, however, that funds from the N.R.A. were being used in this way.

an area over which it formerly had control.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Despite this erosion of police powers, the essential institutions providing for the subsidization and control of cheap African labour: the Borough Police, the municipal N.A.D. and the beer monopoly, remained intact. The use of the Borough Police to enforce pass laws, check registration papers and defend the beer monopoly through constant raids on shebeens, had always been the prerogative of the municipal N.A.D. The relationship between the three institutions was symbiotic. The cost of policing was borne by beer revenue and the efficiency of the beer monopoly depended on rigorous policing. The carrying through of systematic urban control depended on the efficiency of both these institutions. If the implementation of effective influx control and segregation was to be realised, a nationally co-ordinated and uniform programme of police control was a prerequisite. At the local level, the implementation of a policy of segregation was jagged and incomplete. For example, in Durban, the effect of proclamation in central areas of the city had been merely to impel a section of the African population into those peri-urban areas controlled by the S.A.P. In April 1936 the central government announced its plans to take over the control of the Borough Police. This intervention did not pass unchallenged, at least not by the municipal N.A.D.

On the afternoon of 1 April 1936 (the day the S.A.P. were to assume control) large crowds of Africans gathered in the vicinity of the Victoria Street beer hall. Rumours had been put out that free beer would be obtainable at the beer hall and that Africans should go to the beer hall armed with sticks. However, there was no evidence of unrealised expectation on the part of the African crowd: either free beer

(167) Natal Mercury, 26 October 1935, quoted in Hemson, 'Class Consciousness', p.290.

had been issued or it was not seriously expected.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
 The Borough Police attempted to clear the streets while the African crowd greeted the arrival of the S.A.P. "pick-up vans" with stones. The S.A.P., armed with batons and showing fixed bayonets, attempted to clear Victoria Street, while the Borough Police were active in another part of the street. After the withdrawal of the Borough Police, the S.A.P. and the "pick-up vans" came under increasing attack and shots were fired into the crowds. The clashes ceased with the arrest of 24 male labourers. Two were found guilty of public violence and sentenced to two months hard labour.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

The Commissioner appointed to investigate the riots, Major S.M. Page, exonerated the municipal N.A.D. and the respective Police Forces, but was critical of the inconsistent evidence of municipal officials in the Victoria Street beer hall. The Magistrate who heard the case, T.J. Conway, was, however, most direct in his criticisms. He criticized the 'attitude' of municipal officials and hinted that 'there is more in this case than appears on the record'. Conway stated that Africans had been used as 'cats-paws' by C.F. Layman and other officials. They allegedly knew of the trouble and were 'welcoming' it. C.F. Layman's attitude was, according to Conway, 'almost criminal'.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ The fomenting of riots by officials of the municipal N.A.D. is indicative of the serious light in which they perceived the police takeover. At one level the takeover was a blow to white civic pride in the Borough Police. However, more importantly, the

(168) T.C.F. Durban Native Riots, Box 62, File 323, Report of the Commissioner appointed to Enquire into the circumstances leading up to and surrounding the Native disturbances which occurred at Durban on the 1st April, 1936, p.4.

(169) T.C.F., Durban Native Riots, Box 62, File 323, Report of the Commissioner. One hundred and two pages of evidence were taken. The above account is taken from the minutes of evidence and the Commissioner's Report.

(170) Natal Mercury, 16 May 1936.

resentment with which the takeover was greeted by the municipal N.A.D. is suggestive of the degree to which the local state in Durban had managed to remain relatively autonomous from central state policies and control. The takeover of the local police removed a crucial area of control from the hands of the local state. In the sphere of urban African control and management it removed a central prop of a particular form of urban control - the Durban system. In doing so it not only proposed to compel white taxpayers to shoulder a greater burden of the social costs of the reproduction of African labour, but also increased the answerability of local authority to central government.

Africans were not the passive victims of the machinations of white officials opposing the S.A.P. takeover. With thousands of Africans living in the town, including a burgeoning section of unemployed and 'criminal classes',⁽¹⁷¹⁾ outbursts of popular violence were not to be entirely unexpected. Moreover, immediately prior to the April riots, regulations enforcing permits for African women entering Durban had been passed and caused widespread dissatisfaction amongst Africans.⁽¹⁷²⁾ In this environment, rumours could easily assume the character of popular truths.

The attempt by the municipal N.A.D. to discredit the S.A.P. and hopefully prevent the takeover of the local police, proved fruitless. The first stages of a national programme to systematize and implement central state urban policy at the local level, were thus felt in Durban. The Durban system

(171) D.M.R. File 1/9/2/2, Native Politics and Unrest, Disturbances - 1936, Minutes of Meeting of Representative Natives of Durban held at the Native Commissioner's Office, 7 April 1936. The Chief Native Commissioner claimed that the 'scum of society' had arrived in Durban.

(172) D.M.R., File 1/9/2/2, Native Politics and Unrest, Disturbances - 1936, City Council circular to all Native Ministers of Religion in Durban, 4 April 1936.

could, by 1936, no longer claim to be a model of urban control and management. When, in 1938, the Johannesburg municipality took advantage of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 and instituted a municipal monopoly, the new beer halls produced massive profits. This allowed the Johannesburg Town Council to cease subsidizing its Native Revenue Account from general revenue.⁽¹⁷³⁾ In Durban the picture was more bleak. The accommodation and control of a rapidly expanding African workforce could no longer rest on the diminished finances provided by the N.R.A. The relative autonomy enjoyed by South African's 'most British' and, at times, most repressive town, abdicated in favour of greater answerability to, and dependence on, the central state. In the past, one of the most important bulwarks of this "independence" had been the Durban system of brewing and selling of utshwala to Africans in the town. By 1936, the vast "black belt" around the city showed its first few signs of tightening what, for most of the white population, was an intoxicated grip on Durban. But the source of this intoxication was no longer predominantly beer brewed in the three municipal breweries, rather it was to be found within African communities, consumed in shebeens and stored in vast reservoirs underground. In a telling comment on the opposition of ordinary Africans to the Durban system the Inspector of Native Urban Locations, F. Rodseth, noted in 1936 that 'the sales of Durban municipal beer are still about 50% below those of pre-boycott days'.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

(173) See E. Koch, 'The Responses of the Dominant Class to Marabi Culture - Liberals, the local state and the black petty bourgeoisie', p.24. The Native Laws Amendment Act (No.46 of 1937) allowed for either municipal monopoly, the licensing of select Africans to sell beer or domestic brewing.

(174) T.C.F. Native Locations, Box 18, File 49, jkt.1, Report by Inspector of Native Urban Locations - Durban, August 1936.

EPILOGUE

Local authorities in Natal look to the sale of Kaffir beer to balance their Native Revenue accounts. What will happen to the general rates if ... their food for generations (called by us ignorant Europeans Kaffir beer) becomes a thing of the past? They will go up in a substantial manner.

(H.E. Reed in a submission to the
Special Committee on Native Affairs
Durban 1935)

... this question of Kaffir beer is one of the most pressing questions with which the Natives are concerned in this country. Much of the trouble ... in our administration is due to this question ... the existing provisions in regard to Native beer ... are quite unworkable and are imposing such a strain on the Natives and on the Government - the administration of justice and the policing of this country - that a change is becoming imperative in the public interest.

(J.C. Smuts, September 1937).

Now we bring our wives and children in(to) town with the view to work collectively ... The wife brews (isigata) with the mind to supplement wages and still there is not enough (money). It is not true that natives like (isigata). Women by doing so are trying to help their husbands ... today it's the fifth generation (of) black men (who have) never been paid wages that satisfy him.

(Zulu Phungula, President of Dock Workers' Union, 1948).

Part I Durban and State Liquor Policy, 1937-1945

In 1937 the Urban Areas Act became effective throughout the Durban municipal area. This gave impetus to attempts by the local state to provide Africans with formal accommodation. Four hundred additional cottages were built at Lamont in 1937, and extensions were made to the Somtseu Road location. In 1936 and 1939 new women's hostels were opened in Grey Street and Jacobs. Men's hostels were built at Dalton Road in 1934, the Point (in the same year), Somtseu Road in 1938, and Jacobs in 1939. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Maasdorp and Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p.13.

Such extensions to existing African housing were, however, unable to adequately solve an increasingly acute housing crisis. The incorporation of peri-urban areas, including Sydenham and Cato Manor, into the Durban Municipal area in 1932, presented the local state with a housing crisis of enormous proportions. A survey of the 'added areas' in 1935 suggests the extent of the problem. In the Old Borough area, 3 029 out of 8 425 dwellings were deemed to be unsatisfactory by the Medical Officer of Health. In the 'added areas', 7 741 out of 14 053 dwellings were described as being in an unsatisfactory condition.⁽²⁾ For many years the growth of squatter settlements in the outlying areas of the town had been noted by white officials. By the late thirties rapid urbanisation accelerated this uncontrolled growth of informal shack dwellings and after the outbreak of the Second World War, Durban began experiencing the most serious shortage of African housing in its history.

The reasons for this housing shortage are to be found in the massive urbanisation of Africans caused by land hunger and poverty in the countryside. The 1936 Census put Durban's African population at 63 762. The African female population, estimated at 14 234, had reached a significant proportion of this total.⁽³⁾ The accommodation crisis was further exacerbated by the stimulus which secondary industry, commerce and shipping activities received following the outbreak of the Second World War. Secondary industry, in particular, underwent huge expansion during this period.⁽⁴⁾ But war-time restrictions on building activities precluded the construction of large-scale housing schemes for both blacks and whites.⁽⁵⁾

(2) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.3, Native Housing Survey, 1935.

(3) See Mackenzie, 'Influx Control, Health Regulation and African Women in Durban', p.1.

(4) See Appendix XXII.

(5) Maasdorp and Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p.14.

In 1939 there were an estimated 1 000 African-occupied shacks in the municipal area of Durban. Half of these were located in the Cato Manor district. The growth of large and sprawling informal settlements on the outskirts of the city, officially referred to as the 'black belt', was not restricted to Cato Manor. During the late thirties and throughout the forties, all those areas which had been incorporated into Durban in 1932, were characterised by a continually expanding constellation of shack settlements. By 1946, there were reportedly over 5 500 African shacks in these areas.⁽⁶⁾ The centrality of liquor brewing and selling as a means of subsistence for many inhabitants of the 'added areas' had been a feature of these settlements from the earliest years of their existence.⁽⁷⁾ With the expansion of squatter settlements and rackrenting by Indian landlords in the thirties and forties, access to informal sources of income such as liquor brewing, became vital for Durban's African working class.

Shack settlements offered the local state in Durban certain advantages. Shack accommodation erected by Africans themselves saved the local state considerable capital outlay, both in the erection and maintenance of housing.⁽⁸⁾ This state of affairs was particularly advantageous, given the inability of the local state to fund a comprehensive housing programme. T.J. Chester, Assistant Manager of the municipal N.A.D., noted in 1936 that:

there does not exist any machinery or means whereby any programme of housing on a comprehensive and desirable scale can be attempted

(6) Maasdorp and Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p.14

(7) See Chapter 4, p.163 above.

(8) For some useful comments in this regard see Paul Maylam, 'Shackled by the contradictions: The municipal response to African urbanization in Durban c.1920-1950', unpublished paper presented to a Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983, p.15.

or carried out without serious financial loss and consequent burden on the funds of the local authority. (9)

However, the disadvantages and positive dangers which informal settlement posed for the local state, ultimately outweighed their advantages. These settlements held a steadily expanding reserve army of labour which presented grave problems of social control. The policing of the 'added areas' became increasingly difficult, while the absence of health and sanitation services remained a perennial, unsolved problem. Most significantly, in Cato Manor, Sydenham and other neighbouring areas, illicit liquor dealing and the persistence of the shebeen as a social institution, remained a characteristic feature of the landscape. The prominence of brewing as a major outlet of informal sector activity was commented on in virtually all those official reports dealing with the housing crisis. The caretaker of the newly-established Jacobs hostel noted that in many cases, African workers preferred to rent accommodation from Indian landlords (often at higher rentals), rather than remain in municipal hostels. The reason for this development, he suggested, was that the worker could 'escape supervisory control, and, at the same time, was probably in a position to spend his wages on isitshimiyane or illicit beer or some other vile intoxicating liquor'.⁽¹⁰⁾

The "liquor question" remained particularly sensitive for both dominant and dominated classes in Durban. For officials of the municipal N.A.D. illicit brewing threatened beer hall revenue. The impact of the beer boycott was still fresh in the minds of these officials, even seven years after it had ended. It had left its mark, not only on the N.R.A.,⁽¹¹⁾ but

(9) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt. 3, Confidential Memorandum of T.J. Chester re Native Housing in Urban Areas, 1936.

(10) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.3, Native Housing Survey, 1935.

(11) See Appendix XIII

also in the consciousness of ordinary Africans who continued to oppose, if not as actively as before, the consumption of municipal beer. Certainly, the numerous shebeens of Durban offered cheaper drink, in a more convivial atmosphere. The municipal N.A.D. was loath to officially recognize the sustained circumspection with which Africans generally regarded the beer hall. T.J. Chester, who succeeded C.F. Layman as manager of the department, stated in 1939 that the monopoly system was 'more or less equivalent to a cooperative, undertaking' and that Africans were 'aware that profits' were 'returned to them in the form of some service or amenity'.⁽¹²⁾ The reality was somewhat more intractable.

The boom in illicit liquor dealing consequent upon spiralling urbanisation and informal settlement in Durban further depleted the funds of the Native Revenue Account. Although the officials of the local state realised that the days were past when white taxpayers could escape subsidising African social costs, particularly housing, the municipal beer monopoly still represented an important means of cheapening the social costs of African labour. The continuing threat posed by shebeens and illicit brewing in the thirties and forties was thrown into relief by sustained efforts of both employers of labour and municipal officials, to introduce the sale of municipal beer on Sundays. In 1939, it was suggested by a Council representative on the N.A.B. that beer halls should be opened on Sundays, in order to stem the tide of illicit brewing and popular 'lawlessness' prevalent during week-ends'.⁽¹³⁾ This view was echoed by the Manager of the municipal N.A.D.,⁽¹⁴⁾

(12) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.2, Chester to T.C., 27 June 1939.

(13) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.2, Extract from Minutes of the N.A.B., 8 February 1939. This issue had first been mooted by the Native Administration Committee in 1936. See Minutes of the N.A.C., Book 5, 21 July 1936.

(14) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.2, Chester to T.C., 8 February 1940.

but appears to have been received with hostility by most Africans. M. Mlotshwa, a representative on the N.A.B., turned the issue on its head by asking whether 'Europeans had discarded their Bibles in favour of the sale of beer on Sundays'.

Another member of the Board, J. Mswali, claimed that 'Sunday beer' would 'not discourage Africans from going to Cato Manor and other places to obtain illicit liquor'.⁽¹⁵⁾

Opposition to attempts by the local state in Durban to open beer halls on Sunday was rooted in the broader issue of municipal monopoly. Throughout the thirties and forties Africans in Durban (and Natal as a whole) demanded the right to brew beer domestically. For example, the Chairman of the Lamont Native Village Resident Tenants, P. Lutuli, criticized recurrent police liquor raids on the location residents, and called for the institution of domestic brewing in Lamont.⁽¹⁶⁾

When plans for a beer hall in Lamont were mooted in 1939, fierce popular opposition to this move was expressed, Champion himself expressed his disagreement over the proposal.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Locations (Combined) Advisory Boards endorsed such calls by passing a resolution requesting the legalization of home brewing.⁽¹⁸⁾ The opening of beer halls for a restricted period on Sundays was finally agreed to in 1942, after six years of intermittent debate.⁽¹⁹⁾ For the three months prior to the Council vote in favour of this measure, over 40 760 gallons of illicit liquor had been destroyed by police in Durban.⁽²⁰⁾

(15) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.3, Extract from Minutes of the N.A.B., January 1943.

(16) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.1, P.P.L. Lutuli to the Lamont N.A.B., 7 September 1937.

(17) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.2, Extract from Minutes of the N.A.C., 13 December 1940.

(18) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.3, Resolution of Locations (Combined) Advisory Boards, 25 November 1942.

(19) Government Gazette, 26 November 1943, City Council of Durban - Amendment of Kaffir Beer Regulations.

(20) Natal Mercury, 1 December 1942.

The move was opposed both by the South African Temperance Union and the National Council of Women,⁽²¹⁾ and came at a time of heightened debate, at a national level, over the question of African access to alcohol. As J.C. Smuts had claimed in 1937: 'This question of Kaffir Beer is one of the most pressing questions with which Natives are concerned in this country', and further, that 'much of the trouble that we have today in our administration is due to this question'.⁽²²⁾

The Native Laws Amendment Act (No.46) of 1937, which amended the Urban Areas Act, attempted to provide local authorities with an even more stringent means of regulating African urban influx to suit specific regional labour requirements. Furthermore, the Act gave each local authority three options in relation to the supply of beer to Africans: municipal monopoly, licensing of specific individuals to supply beer or home brewing. All local authorities which had previously exercised prohibition, settled for municipal monopoly. Between 1937 and 1941, thirty-one local authorities outside of Natal introduced municipal monopoly.⁽²³⁾ This shift in state liquor policy suggests an official recognition of the failure of prohibition. However, even after 1937, the persistence of shebeens and illicit liquor brewing in rapidly expanding informal urban settlements throughout South Africa, pointed to the uneven success of the monopoly option. No local authority had taken advantage of the licensing option and similarly, the domestic brewing option was not taken up,

(21) When the Johannesburg City Council introduced a beer monopoly in 1937 temperance groups increased their campaign against this particular form of liquor control. See, for example, Stakesby Lewis, Kaffir Beer Halls: The Failure of "An Experiment" (Johannesburg, 1941)

(22) U.G. 56-'37, p.4.

(23) See Appendix XXV. By October 1945, 48 local authorities had monopoly rights. These were distributed as follows: Transvaal - 20, Cape Province - 8, Natal - 16 and Orange Free State - 4.

although Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth continued to allow home brewing. The latter town reported the success of this system in New Brighton Village.⁽²⁴⁾ In 1941, the United Party Government requested the Native Affairs Commission to conduct a thorough investigation into the question of the supply and control of Kaffir beer in South Africa's urban areas.

In its report of 1942 the Native Affairs Commission provided a comprehensive sketch of the history of liquor policy, the illicit liquor problem and the operation of the different systems of supplying Kaffir beer.⁽²⁵⁾ It concluded that beer halls had had very little, if any, effect on the suppression of illicit brews such as isitshimiyane and skoklaan, although they had had some effect on the suppression of illicit beer sales.⁽²⁶⁾ The Commission recommended that brewers and sellers of 'vile concoctions' should be shown no mercy, and that those found guilty of such offences be imprisoned at work colonies.⁽²⁷⁾ It was proposed that beer halls be made more alluring to Africans through the cultivation of a 'social atmosphere'. The Commission endorsed the view, previously enunciated by the S.A.I.R.R. and S.A. Temperance Alliance,⁽²⁸⁾ that neither the monopoly system nor domestic brewing, could alone meet the needs of all Africans in urban areas. With this in mind, the Commission recommended that local authorities be given the discretion to adopt any system or

(24) See J.P. McNamee, 'Domestic Brewing of Kafir Beer. Some Favourable Experiences', South African Municipal Magazine, Vol.24, No.278, October 1940, pp.13-15.

(25) Report of the Native Affairs Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Working of the Provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act Relating to the Use and Supply of Kaffir Beer, An.139-1943. (Copy in Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

(26) An. 139-1943, para.49, p.6.

(27) An. 139-1943, para.127, p.13; and para.168, p.16.

(28) See The Illicit Liquor Problem on the Witwatersrand, para.260, p.42.

combination of systems of manufacture and supply.⁽²⁹⁾

The most important insight of the Commission related to the utilisation of beer profits. It questioned the tendency of local authorities to 'exploit beer hall profits to meet recurring expenditure on ordinary municipal services' (that is, redemption of capital on building schemes), and recommended that beer hall profits be utilised for services connected with African welfare.⁽³⁰⁾

Most of the recommendations of the Commission flew in the face of popular African opinion. The evidence of A.B. Xuma, President of the A.N.C., appears to have made little impact on its findings. Xuma stated that municipal monopoly had failed in all its objectives, had only been 'a huge financial success' and an explicit 'method of exploitation'. Moreover, Xuma, no doubt in reaction to the way in which African "tradition" had been officially manipulated in order to provide ideological support for the monopoly system, denied that utshwala had been 'the people's food from time immemorial'.⁽³¹⁾ He recommended that municipal monopolies be abolished and home brewing permitted, since local authorities had 'no moral right' to monopolise the production and sale of beer 'at the expense of the African people'. Brewing, he stated, was 'essentially private enterprise'.⁽³²⁾ In its evidence to the Commission, the Native Locations (Combined) Advisory Boards made similar points.⁽³³⁾ African popular opinion was

(29) An.139-1943, paras.91-5, pp.10-11.

(30) An.139-1943, paras.91-5, pp.10-11.

(31) A.B. Xuma, Kaffir Beer (Johannesburg, 1941), pp.8-11. Xuma published his evidence to the Commission in pamphlet form.

(32) A.B. Xuma, Kaffir Beer, p.11.

(33) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.3, Memorandum by Native Locations (Combined) Advisory Boards, 4 September 1941.

as acutely aware of the thriving illegal liquor traffic in urban centres as were local authorities. The respective conclusions which they drew from this state of affairs were, however, diametrically opposed.⁽³⁴⁾

Influenced by increasing official criticism of the cavalier utilisation of beer revenue, parliament passed the Native Laws Amendment Act, No.36, in 1944. This Act established a Kaffir Beer Account which was to be a separate sub-account of South African local authorities' Native Revenue Accounts. Receipts from the sale of municipal beer had to be paid into the sub-account. Charges payable from the new Kaffir Beer Account were limited to expenditure incurred in the manufacture, sale and supply of municipal beer and expenditure certified by the Minister as being calculated to improve the social or recreational facilities available to Africans. This legislation had far-reaching implications for local authorities. It meant that African housing in South Africa could no longer be financed from beer hall revenue. Some local authorities thus found themselves with large deficits on their Native Revenue Account, while in their Kaffir Beer Account they had a surplus which they refused to spend on African welfare.⁽³⁵⁾ Other local authorities had borrowed large amounts of money in the expectation of being able to repay loans with money derived from beer profits.

The general outcry from local authorities to the measures embodied in the new Act, appears to have been so great that an amendment (No.43 of 1945) was passed. This allowed the use of beer profits to repay loans which had been raised in order to finance African housing, prior to the passing of Act No.36 of 1944. Local authorities had raised such loans in the

(34) See T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.3, Memorandum of Durban City Council, 10 September 1941. The monopoly system, according to the City Council, had to be vigorously defended.

(35) See E. Hellman and L. Abrahams (eds.), Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa (Cape Town, 1949), pp.260-2.

expectation that beer revenue could be used to repay them at a later date. Despite this concession, the Social and Economic Planning Council in its Report of 1945, was sharp in its criticism of the way in which local authorities were utilising beer profits. The Council stated that the:

consumers of Native beer provided in the municipal beer halls have hitherto borne, through the profits of these undertakings, almost one-fifth of the cost of the various services and amenities provided for the urban Native communities. The Council indeed finds that the net profit on the sale of beer is often of the order of 100 percent. The Council regards this profit as a highly regressive concealed tax and it in no way conforms to the norm of equity. (36)

The Council also suggested that the selling price of municipal beer should be greatly reduced. The profits which most local authorities' Native Beer Accounts reflected (including Durban) were massive. (37)

Clearly, attempts at a national level to rationalize and control regional patterns of urban fiscal practices, had mixed results. For this reason, in September 1945, a Committee to Enquire into Kaffir Beer Profits was appointed by the government. (38) The report of this Committee appeared some four years later in 1949. (39) The findings and recommendations of the Committee were crucial to the resolution of the

(36) Social and Economic Planning Council, Report No.8, Local Government Functions and Finances, U.G. No.40-1945, pp.34-35.

(37) See Appendix XXVI. This table suggests the extent to which municipalities relied on beer profits to meet expenditure from N.R.A.'s.

(38) For the context of the Committee's appointment, see 'The Institute's Memorandum on Kaffir Beer Profits', The South African Treasurer, Vol.18, January 1946, p.27.

(39) Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Use of Profits derived from the Manufacture, Sale and Supply of Kaffir Beer, Records of the S.A.I.R.R., University of the Witwatersrand, Box 87.2.3-5.

problems relating to the utilisation of beer profits in urban areas. The Committee came out strongly in support of the idea that beer profits should, at least in part, be used for African housing. The Committee therefore recommended that local authorities be permitted to devote up to two-thirds of their Kaffir beer profits in any financial year, towards the defraying of costs of African housing.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Section 19 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1952 was to embody these recommendations. Thus, the central importance of beer profits for the financing of African social costs in South African urban centres, was affirmed. The moral qualms expressed by the 1941 Beer Commission and certain Native Affairs officials at the usage of beer profits for African housing and welfare, were effectively over-ridden. Ironically, the beer monopoly system, which had originated in Durban at the turn of the century in order to control the popular consumption of alcohol, was, by the forties and fifties, viewed as an indispensable means of financing African housing and social services throughout the country.

Part II Liquor in the Post-1948 Period

The post-1948 Nationalist government maintained, in most respects, state liquor policy as it had evolved prior to their accession to power. Local authorities continued to spend large amounts of beer revenue on African housing in South Africa's expanding towns and cities. Convictions for the possession of 'illicit native liquor' rose from 122 324 in 1948 to 195 007 in 1955.⁽⁴¹⁾ Popular African resistance to beer halls throughout the country was continuous, but rarely coherently organised. In 1947 there was rioting in the Cape Town township of Langa when it was proposed that a beer

(40) For discussion of the Committee's recommendations see O.D. Gorven, 'The Utilisation of Kaffir Beer Profits', The South African Treasurer, Vol.21, April 1949, pp. 91-4. See, also, D.N. Bang, 'The History and Policy of Kaffir Beer in South Africa', pp.16-18.

(41) See Mark Stein, 'State Liquor Policy', p.25.

hall should be erected. In Krugersdorp, in 1949, two Africans were killed when a beer hall was destroyed by fire during an anti-pass campaign. A liquor raid in Randfontein, also in 1949, resulted in a riot which resulted in the deaths of three Africans. In 1952, riots at Kimberley and East London saw the destruction of several beer halls along with other official buildings.⁽⁴²⁾ Such outbreaks of popular violence were rooted in day-to-day subsistence issues. For example, in 1948, Africans boycotted Durban's beer halls ostensibly because of their inability to pay for municipal beer from their low wages. The Durban Branch of the C.P.S.A., two years before being outlawed, mobilised around this issue and demanded that the pre-war price of municipal beer be reintroduced.⁽⁴³⁾

During the late forties and during the fifties illicit liquor brewing appears to have experienced an unprecedented boom. Police raids into Cato Manor and adjacent areas saw the destruction of thousands of gallons of illicit liquor. During one raid in the Bellair district in 1948, 10 000 gallons of illicit drink were destroyed and 137 people arrested.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The fiery President of the Durban Dockworkers' Union, Zulu Phungula, clearly drew out the connections between the low wages paid to workers and the continuing resilience of shebeens and brewing, particularly by African women, in the city.⁽⁴⁵⁾ By the end of the forties, the size of Durban's African squatter population had soared. Seventy percent of all shacks

(42) Stein, 'State Liquor Policy', p.25. Further such incidents have yet to be documented and analysed.

(43) T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.5, Secretary of C.P.S.A. to T.C., 20 July 1948.

(44) Natal Mercury, 15 March 1948.

(45) T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66, File 467, jkt.6, Z. Phungula to T.C., 20 September 1948. Phungula was also President of the 'Natal Zulu National Workers' Union'.

were in the Cato Manor area, which accommodated over 50 000 people. (46) It is not surprising that when Cato Manor experienced a dramatic outburst of popular militancy and violence in 1959, the question of home brewing and the municipal beer monopoly was to emerge as an integral part of broader economic issues.

By the late fifties, Durban could boast one of the worst slums in South Africa, populated by as many as 120 000 people. As early as 1952, sections of the slum had been demarcated as an Emergency Camp. This comprised the first step towards ultimately removing the inhabitants to a new township called Kwa Mashu. The process of removal started with the gradual thinning out of shacks in the Emergency Camp. (47) In June 1959 indiscriminate sanitation measures brought the Durban Corporation into a head-on clash with residents. In the process of installing some semblance of sanitation in Cato Manor, vast quantities of illicit liquor were unearthed. For many years, the residents of Cato Manor, and especially African women, had brewed illicit liquor in order to narrow the gap between the low wages paid to workers and the high cost of living. Intensified police raids, the unearthing of large quantities of isitshimiyane and gavine and the increasing economic hardship of those people living in Cato Manor, led to a crisis-point in June 1959. Exactly thirty years after the 1929 riots, widespread violence broke out in Cato Manor. (48)

(46) Maylam, 'Shackled by the Contradictions', p.15.

(47) Maasdorp and Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p.61.

(48) Gavine became an extremely popular drink during the fifties in Durban. It was usually prepared in 44-gallon drums which were buried while the ingredients (water, malt and sugar) went through the early stages of fermentation. A cheap, potent brew was the result. See Maasdorp and Humphreys, From Shantytown to Township, p. 49.

On 17 June, the Cato Manor beer hall was invaded by women who proceeded to eject men drinking in the beer hall. Beer vats were overturned and brewing machinery destroyed.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The following day, over 2 000 African women demonstrated near the beer hall and three Africans were shot dead while setting fire to the beer hall, an unambiguous symbol of the community's daily oppression. By 21 August, more than 10 000 women had been involved in the disturbances, 624 Africans, most of whom were women, had been sentenced to 168 years imprisonment and/or fines totalling £ 7 130.⁽⁵⁰⁾ But the resistance continued. In early 1960, nine policemen were killed while on a liquor raid in an area of Cato Manor where the inhabitants were in the process of being removed. On 18 February, an A.N.C. mass meeting, attended by 4 500 people, was held at the Durban City Hall. Following the meeting, plans were made for a general strike and a bus and beer hall boycott, in protest against the uprooting of the people of Cato Manor. Durban's nine large beer halls rapidly felt the impact of this boycott.

Most-likely spurred on by the experience of Cato Manor, in 1960 the Intoxicating Liquor Commission recommended a significant change in state liquor policy. The Commission reported that over sixty percent of all liquor consumed in South Africa was sold illegally.⁽⁵¹⁾ The government decided to legalize the sale of 'white man's liquor' to Africans through both beer halls and state-controlled liquor outlets. The struggle by South Africa's ruling classes against shebeens

(49) See Ladlau, 'The Cato Manor Riots 1959-60'; and Tom Lodge Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 (Johannesburg, 1983), pp.147-50.

(50) Leo Kuper, 'Rights and Riots in Natal', Africa South, Vol.4, No.2, 1960, pp.20-22. Kuper also mentions the false promise of the Durban Corporation to supply Africans with licenses to brew beer, as an immediate cause of these riots.

(51) Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the General Distribution and Selling Prices of Intoxicating Liquor, U.G.55-1960, para.28, p.4.

and illicit liquor dealers was finally conceded when, in 1962, the Liquor Amendment Act No.72 of 1961, came into effect. The Bantu Beer Act No.63 of 1962, originating in the Native Beer Act, No.23 of 1908, specified that local authorities had to spend one third of their beer profits on African welfare and recreation. The remaining revenue could be used for African housing.

The abandonment of prohibition held distinct advantages for South Africa's ruling classes. State-controlled liquor outlets could possibly put African liquor traders out of business by providing better drink at cheaper prices. Policemen involved in liquor raiding could be channelled into enforcing other forms of labour coercion and control such as the pass laws.⁽⁵²⁾ But there were even more important political and economic benefits stemming from the abandonment of prohibition. The Commission of 1960 noted that:

A million Natives ... who virtually have no legal access to the alcoholic beverages of the white man, is an excellent profitable and protected source of income to the illicit trader. (53)

It was this vast untapped market which the apartheid state, under the hegemony of national capital, hoped to corner. Certainly the Ko-operatiewe Wynbouers-Vereeniging (K.W.V.), whose backbone comprised Nationalist supporters, was in favour of liberalising the liquor laws.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The removal of prohibition was also rooted in certain political realities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colonial perceptions of African drinking practices had been closely tied to the more general problem of ensuring the economic and political subordination of African workers, and of maintaining social control, labour discipline and

(52) Stein, 'State Liquor Policy', p.26.

(53) U.G. 55-1960, para.32, p.4.

(54) Stein, 'State Liquor Policy', p.26.

productivity. In Durban the control of African drinking and brewing, as part of a broader pattern of subordination of African workers, had been attempted through the monopolisation of beer and on the Witwatersrand, through prohibition. As one writer has noted, the historical concern of the state has always focussed on the public conditions and consequences of popular drinking patterns, rather than the level of drinking per se.⁽⁵⁵⁾ By the 1960's, these conditions and consequences had changed significantly since the days of early industrial revolution in South Africa. A number of factors had begun to undermine the political basis of blanket prohibition.

The related questions of African access to drink and labour supplies had tended to become less important given the large numbers of Africans, particularly in "labour pools" on the outskirts of many South African towns, available to urban employers. The use of liquor laws as a covert means of labour coercion and control had been supplanted in importance by racial segregation and the strict enforcement of influx/efflux control through pass laws. But most importantly, as the Intoxicating Liquor Commission of 1960 noted, prohibition had, 'led to an almost country-wide rebellious reaction' on the part of Africans which, the Commission maintained, would 'become more pronounced with the passage of time'.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The lifting of prohibition was viewed, not only as the removal of a particular form of race discrimination, but also, as the debate over the Liquor Amendment Bill suggested, as a means of dampening popular social consciousness through the "reward" of drink.⁽⁵⁷⁾

While drink has generally occupied a central place in the

(55) N. Dorn, Alcohol, Youth and the State (London, 1983) p.43.

(56) U.G. 55-1960, para.58, p.7.

(57) See Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), Vol.1, 19 June 1961.

culture of African working men and women in South Africa's towns and cities, popular drinking practices have changed with time. Similarly, the shebeen as an important urban cultural institution has undergone, along with the material conditions of subordinate classes, certain transformations. As Belinda Bozzoli has noted:

every cultural institution acquires an economic character as soon as incomes are to be made from its existence - and those who survive and prosper because of their involvement in a cultural institution, find their interests taking a distinctly material form as well as a cultural one. The complex interplay between these cultural and material issues varies with time and circumstance. (58)

Drinking utshwala, or other quick-fermenting urban brews, in Durban's shebeens in 1908, provided a means of self-assertion on the part of African popular classes in the town. Moreover, between 1908 and 1936 illicit brewing was an important means of supplementing excessively low wages paid to workers in Durban. However, in Soweto, the ambiguous position of alcohol in the lives of ordinary working people was graphically illustrated. Both Proctor and Hirson have rightly pointed out this ambiguity.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Despite the denunciation of alcohol, beer halls and shebeens by militant youths in 1976, it would be too simple to characterise the historical consumption of drink by black working people as uniformly reactionary. As has been argued in the pages above, particular cultural practices need to be grasped in their historical context.

During the Soweto riots in 1976, over 250 bottlestores and beer halls were destroyed by the inhabitants of the township. Furthermore, many of Soweto's over 1 000 shebeens were forced to close or were attacked by militant students and workers.

(58) Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, pp.22-3.

(59) See Proctor, 'Class Struggle, Segregation and the City', p.81; and B. Hirson, Year of Fire, Year of Ash. The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution? (London, 1981), pp.264-5

The Soweto Students' Representative Council claimed: 'we can no longer tolerate seeing our fathers' pay-packets emptied in shebeens'. Many also called for 'more schools, not beer halls'.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1976 the West Rand Administration Board lost three million rand in liquor sales. This represented half of the previous year's income.⁽⁶¹⁾ Not only were beer halls perceived to be symbolic of daily oppression, but shebeens themselves were viewed by many as reactionary institutions, serving to depress rather than heighten social consciousness.

Beer halls which were destroyed during the 1976-77 period of social unrest were rapidly rebuilt. Popular violence directed at beer halls helped forge novel designs for some of the new buildings. One description of a proposed beer hall ran as follows:

The walls and roofs will be made of fire-proof reinforced concrete; the buildings will have no windows, but will be fully air-conditioned for the comfort of the liquor dealers and their patrons; bullet-proof glass will separate cashiers from customers; steel security doors, and direct radio links to the cops will also be installed. ⁽⁶²⁾

The state had sound economic reasons to encourage this process of reconstruction. Although moves towards the legalisation of shebeens continue to be made in the post-1976 era, this process has been closely tied to the needs of the urban African middle classes. The state in South Africa still holds on to a monopoly in sorghum beer production,

(60) John Kane-Berman, Soweto - Black Revolt, White Reaction (Johannesburg, 1978), pp.19-20. Also see Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from the 16th of June 1976 to the 28th of February 1977, Two Vols., R.P. 55-1980, passim.

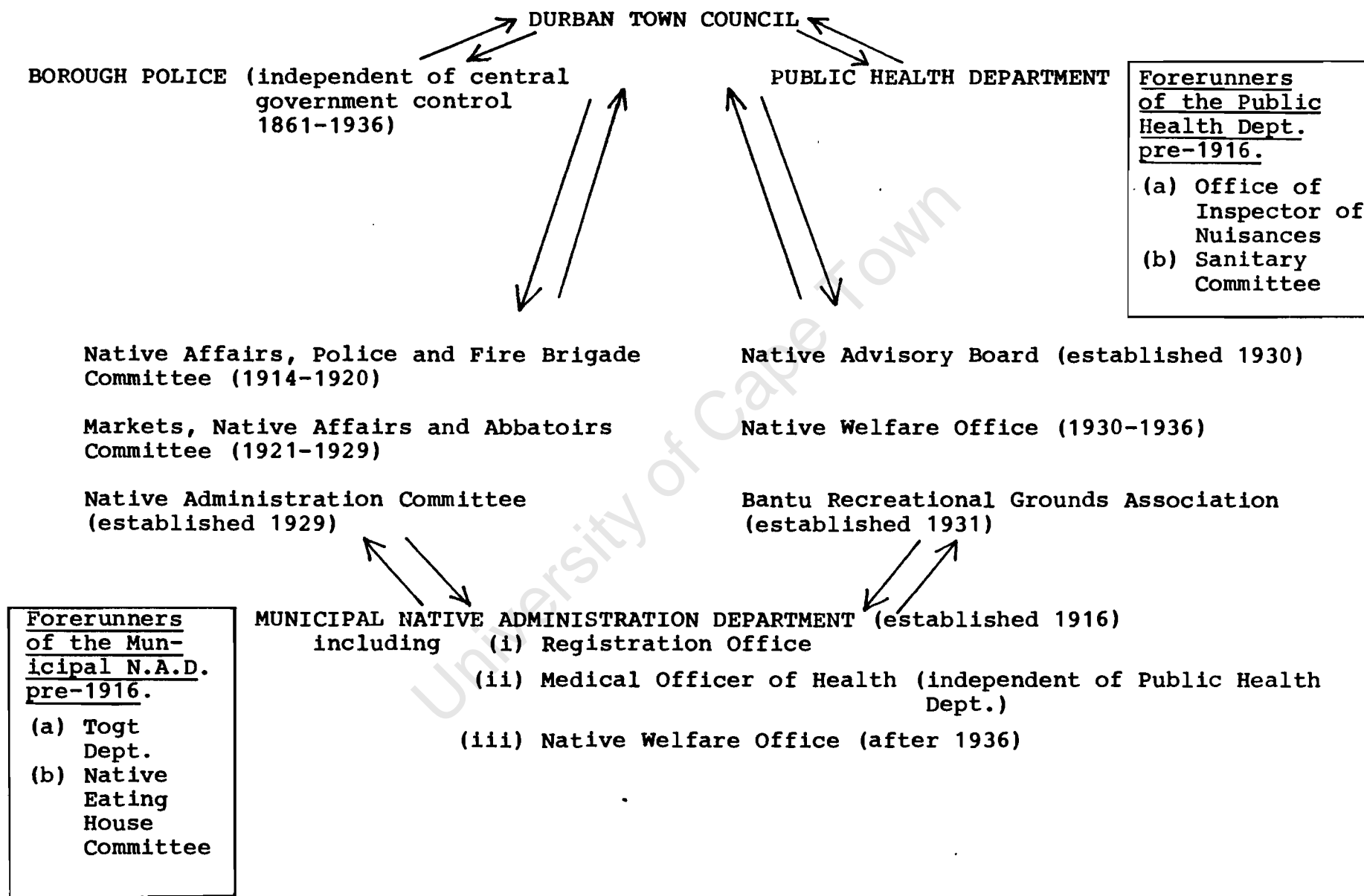
(61) Financial Mail, 29 April 1977.

(62) Financial Mail, 29 April 1977.

while state liquor outlets supply alcohol to legal shebeens, and also indirectly, to illegal shebeens. By 1981, sorghum beer accounted for 82 percent of alcoholic consumption in South Africa.⁽⁶³⁾ It remains the country's most popular drink.

(63) Sunday Tribune, 13 September 1981

Appendix I. Relationship between various Municipal Bodies concerned with Native Affairs in Durban and Durban Town Council. c.1902-1936.



Appendix II Revenue Accruing to the Togt Fund (derived from registration fees and fines) for the years 1876-1904.

1876	£747	1886	£1184	1896	£2950
1877	951	1887	1145	1897	4813
1878	1237	1888	1470	1898	4034
1879	1457	1889	1783	1899	4356
1880	1492	1890	2372	1900	4879
1881	1709	1891	2216	1901	6416
1882	1645	1892	2093	1902	7923
1883	1591	1893	2027	1903	8482
1884	1199	1894	1823	1904	9481
1885	1159	1895	2253		

Source: Superintendent of Police Report Book No.7, Chief Constable's Balance Sheet, 1906.

Appendix III White Commercial Traders' Licences, 1905.

Wholesale trade	262	Eating Houses	139
Bar	872	Hotels	8
Bottle	21	Hotels and Bars	18
Bakers	12	Hawkers	43
Butchers	19	Lodging and Eating Houses	25
Billiards	51	Mineral oil	9
Clubs	50	Pawnbrokers	2
Wholesale wine and spirits	39		

Source: Durban Corporation Letterbook No.555.

Appendix IV Main Ricksha Owners and Rickshas in Durban and
Total Number of Rickshas in Natal, 1913.

Durban.

<u>Company:</u>	<u>No. of Rickshas</u>
F. Newall	30
Mrs A. Harrison	40
Lazarus Bros.	86
K.A. Berger	42
Durban Rickshas Ltd	600
A. Shazell	110
W. Fentiman	19
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 927

Natal.

Durban	987	(includes 13 pony rickshas)*
Pietermaritzburg	404	
Ladysmith	7	
Newcastle	2	
Dundee	7	
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 1407	

* The discrepancy between this total and the previous one can presumably be ascribed to individuals or commercial enterprises owning less than 19 rickshas.

Source: Unidentified Correspondence (Durban's Town Clerk?)
found in D.C.L., No.650.

Appendix V Members of Durban Native Council, 1916, and the Executive of the Durban Branch of the Natal Native Congress, 1918.

Durban Native Council 1916

	<u>Occupation</u>
Charles Z. Msomi (Chairman)	
* H.S. Nkwanyana	Church of England Catechist
Frank Caluza	
Philemon Z. Lutuli (Secretary)	
* A.J. Mtetwa	Gardener
I. Kuluse	Trader
* Dick Kuzwayo	Trader
* William Bhulose (Vice Secretary)	Trader
Peter Sioka	
* F.M. Xulu	Induna at Durban Rickshas Ltd.
Mathias M. Tshange	
* Skweleti Nyongwana	Teacher, Editor of <u>Ilanga lase Natal</u>

* Indicates certified membership of Natal Native Congress

Executive of the Durban Branch of the Natal Native Congress, 1918

	<u>Occupation</u>
John Dube	Congregational Minister, Educationalist, and Editor of <u>Ilanga</u>
F.M. Xulu	(see above)
W.J. Makanya	Minister of the American Zulu Mission
A.J. Mtetwa	(see above)
H.S. Nkwanyana	(see above)

Source: D.M.C. Vol.511, File 27/597/1918, Native Agitation, Translation of Notice in Zulu Issued by J.L. Dube concerning a meeting of Natives in Durban on 23 February 1918; T.C.F. Native Affairs, Vol.103, File 467, jkt.1, H.S. Nkwanyana to Manager of the municipal N.A.D., 12 July 1916

Appendix VI Occupations of Africans in Durban and Surrounding Suburbs, 1921.

Teachers, Ministers, Chief, Indunas, other professions	95
Interpreters, Clerks	57
Shop Assistants	1537
Artisans	77
Peasants	145
Farm Workers	737
Mine Workers	9
Railway labour	6372
Skilled labour	607
Other labour	13818
Unskilled Government and Municipal Services	769
Police and Defence	769
Petty traders and hawkers	230
Domestic servants (male)	7590
Domestic servants (female)	1354
Students and children	1161
Other	2250
TOTAL	37577

Source: 1921 Census quoted in M.W. Swanson, 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1964, p.478.

Appendix VII Sample of Municipal Beer Analysed by Durban's Borough Analyst 1923

Total Extract	7.45%
Mineral Ash	0.25
Chlorides	7.00
Proteins	0.44
Sugars	Trace
Dextrin	2.47
Starch	4.16
Fat	0.13
Acetic Acid	0.4
Specific gravity	1.026
Alcohol by weight	2.28
Proof spirit	4.98

Summary

Total Solid matter	7.45%
Alcohol	2.28
Acid	0.4
Water	89.87

Source: Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Native Affairs, S.C.3-23, p.137

Appendix VIII African Traders in Durban 1924

Stallholders	17
Tableholders	67
Tailors	7
Meatsellers	64
Woodsellers	1
Boxmakers	3
Cobblers	3
Snuff sellers	50
Mineral and fruitsellers	4
Clothessellers	1
Saddlers	2
Matchmakers	1
TOTAL	220

Source: T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol.36, File 49, jkt.3, Return of Native Caterers, etc. Trading in Municipal Native Institution Controlled by the Native Affairs Department, April 1924.

Appendix IX Capital Outlay on Various African Institutions in Durban, 1909-1925.

1909	Native Eating House, Point	4056
1910	Old Malting House	709
1910	Native Barracks, Central	3535
1912	Native Eating House, Umgeni	996
1912	Hostel for Native Women (old)	2652
1913	Native Brewery	16750
1914	Native Eating House, Prince Alfred St.	7134
1915	Native Location for Males	71067
1916	Married Native Village	15265
1916	Native Hospital Congella	489
1920	Native School	6609
1922	Barracks Congella	38943
1925	Hostel for Women (new)	13929
1925	Recreation Grounds	477
1925	Native Eating House, Congella	33
TOTAL		183004

Source: Report of the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill, S.C.7-'26, Appendix K.

Appendix X Beer Hall and Eating House Income Compared with Welfare Expenditure, 1909-1936.

year ending 31 July	INCOME (figures to nearest £)			WELFARE EXPENDITURE
	Beer Revenue	Waste Grain. Sales	Eating House Revenue	Grants (a)
1909	£7 937	£31	£932	-
1910	15 849	232	857	-
1911	19 690	600	1 293	-
1912	23 521	593	1 596	£533
1913	25 033	697	1 953	827
1914	18 656	522	2 034	75
1915	21 232	506	2 054	800
1916	24 163	723	2 387	1 408
1917	28 079	746	2 640	990
1918-1921	N/A (b)	N/A	N/A	N/A
1922	42 994	1 450	3 302	1 443
1923	73 841 (c)	798	3 288	1 973
1924	56 388	746	3 505	1 733
1925	58 395	1 787	3 649	2 150
1926	57 402	1 261	3 917	1 915
1927	49 939	1 175	3 796	1 721
1928	53 724	1 150	3 893	1 590
1929	50 394	1 056	4 062	1 554
1930	6 107	104	4 280	4 509
1931	23 751	348	4 358	4 801
1932	22 944	288	3 671	7 250
1933	25 362 (d)	289	3 588	10 439
1934	35 341	657	3 020	10 170
1935	36 224	613	3 691	9 402
1936	48 759	775	3 779	10 558

(a) Between 1909 and 1917 specific grants for African welfare are not indicated on the Municipal Balance sheets. The figures for these years have been arrived at by adding up all expenditure on African health, education and recreation. Between 1922 and 1929 welfare expenditure is indicated separately under the heading 'Grants', in the Balance Sheets. From 1930 on, expenditure on welfare is indicated in the records by a heading entitled 'Recreation and Welfare'.

(b) Mayor's Minutes for the years 1918-1921 were never printed.

(c) In 1923 the old Native (Beer) Administration Fund was replaced by the Native Revenue Account, established in terms of the 1923 Urban Areas Act.

(d) After the Incorporation of the 'added areas' into the town in 1932 the beer halls in Sydenham and South Coast Junction come under the control of the municipal N.A.D. The income of these institutions is included in the revenue figures after 1932. The proportion of total beer revenue accruing to these two beer halls, for the years 1933-1936, are as follows: £5 153, £5 303, £4 857 and £4 334.

Source : Mayor's Minutes, 1909-1936.

Appendix XI. Analysis of Durban's Native Revenue Account, 1925-1937

(Figures to nearest £.)

Year ended 31st July.	EXPENDITURE.									INCOME.					
	Brewing and Selling.	Location Expenses.	Eating House Supplies and Services.	Registration.	Rents, Rates and Departmental Services.	Administration.	Grants.	Grants and Expenditure on the Welfare of Natives.	Total.	Sales of Beer, Waste, etc.	Rents.	Eating House Receipts.	Registration.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1925	10,390	4,979	4,183 ^a	6,177	18,700	15,182	2,160	—	61,761	60,183	16,355	3,649	12,625	1,940	94,752
1926	9,338	5,374	4,311	6,806	25,257	8,813	1,916	—	61,814	58,664	16,067	3,917	13,416	472	92,536
1927	10,503	5,291	3,957	7,423	27,346 ^b	8,989	1,721	—	66,133	61,104	17,060	3,796	6,916	1,501	80,389
1928	10,840	12,629	6,293	9,980	19,331	10,443	1,590	—	68,126	64,873	19,631	3,823	6,750	1,859	87,006
1929	9,689	14,361	6,377	9,372	15,480	11,946	1,554	—	68,779	61,450	21,738	4,062	9,459	3,734	90,448
1930	3,653	21,770	9,887	8,714	—	11,168	—	4,500	59,591	6,210	21,231	4,280	11,466	2,734	45,921
1931	5,278	20,935	10,148	7,410	—	10,271	—	4,501	58,844	24,099	18,023	4,358	10,561	1,135	69,065
1932	5,758	22,866 ^d	10,814 ^c	7,062	—	7,222	—	7,250	60,992	23,233	18,714	3,671	9,419	867	53,904
1933	6,262	23,968 ^d	12,159 ^c	9,212	—	7,610	—	10,439	72,650	25,387	18,960	3,588	10,350	2,163 ^e	67,453
1934	8,301	25,359 ^d	10,834 ^c	9,433	—	7,187	—	10,170	71,284	35,396	18,182	3,020	11,581	2,501 ^f	70,680
1935	7,151	25,521 ^d	11,240 ^c	10,220	—	7,188	—	9,402	70,731	36,306	21,928	3,691	13,236	2,322	77,484
1936	8,896	27,631 ^d	11,130 ^c	11,439	—	6,970	—	10,558	76,644	48,858	24,914	3,779	14,232	3,067	94,916
1937	11,266	26,863 ^d	11,263 ^c	11,613	—	5,262	—	9,852	76,149	48,628	26,494	3,819	15,340	2,866	97,137
Total	107,225	240,618	112,605	114,861	108,017	118,261	8,930	64,981	672,468	524,286	255,305	49,523	145,401	27,170	1,001,885

N.B.—Totals represent the sum of all the items each of which is taken to the nearest pound. They are therefore not always correct to the nearest pound themselves. The difference, however, is negligible.

- (a) Includes cost of selling Beer.
- (b) Includes loss on Sale and Demolition of Buildings.
- (c) From this date known as "Eating House" only.
- (d) Location and Hostel Expenses.
- (e) Excluding Contributions to Capital repaid.
- (f) Excluding Recoveries from Borough Fund.

Source : R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities Towards the Natives within their Boundaries', South African Journal of Economics, Vol.7, No.2, 1939.

Appendix XII. Beer Revenue in Comparison with Total Revenue accruing to Durban's Native Revenue Account, 1925-1937.

(All figures to nearest £.)

Year ended 31st July.	A. Sales of Beer, Waste, etc.	B. Eating House Receipts.	Total A. plus B.	Total Income.	Percentage of A. plus B. to Total Income.
	£	£	£	£	
1925	60,183	3,649	63,832	94,752	67.4
1926	58,664	3,917	62,581	92,536	67.6
1927	51,104	3,796	54,900	80,389	68.3
1928	54,873	3,893	58,766	87,006	67.6
1929	51,450	4,062	55,512	90,443	61.4
1930	6,210	4,280	10,490	45,921	22.8
1931	24,099	4,358	28,457	59,065	48.2
1932	23,233	3,671	26,904	53,904	49.9
1933	25,387	3,588	28,975	57,453	50.4
1934	35,396	3,020	38,416	70,680	54.4
1935	36,306	3,691	39,997	77,484	51.6
1936	48,853	3,779	52,632	94,915	55.5
1937	48,628	3,819	52,447	97,137	54.0
TOTALS	£524,386	£49,523	£573,909	£1,001,685	—

Source : R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities ...'

Appendix XIII Net Beer Profits and Net Losses on Native Eating Houses Compared to Total Profits of Durban's Native Revenue Account, 1925-1937

(All figures to nearest £.)

Year ended 31st July.	A. Net Profits from Sales of Beer, Waste, etc.	B Net Losses from Eating Houses.	A. minus B.	Total net Profits of Native Revenue Account.	Net Profits from Beer Halls and Eating Houses spent on other Services.
	£	£	£	£	£
1925	49,793	534	49,259	32,991	16,268
1926	49,326	394	48,932	30,722	18,210
1927	40,601	161	40,440	15,256	25,184
1928	44,033	2,400	41,633	18,880	22,753
1929	41,761	2,315	39,446	21,664	17,782
1930	2,657	5,607	2,950*	•	•
1931	18,821	5,790	13,031	221	12,810
1932	17,475	7,143	10,332	•	10,332
1933	16,125	8,571	10,554	•	10,554
1934	27,095	7,814	19,281	•	19,281
1935	29,155	7,558	21,597	6,753	14,844
1936	39,987	7,351	32,636	18,271	14,365
1937	37,332	7,444	29,888	20,968	8,900
TOTALS	£417,161	£63,082	£354,079	£165,746	£191,283

* Net Loss.

Source: R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities ...'

Appendix XIV Comparison Between the Total Income and Total Expenditure on Durban's Native Revenue Account, 1925-1937

(All figures to nearest £.)

Year ending 31st July.	Total Income.	Total Expenditure.	Excess of Income over Expenditure.	Excess of Expenditure over Income.
	£	£	£	£
1925	94,752	61,761	32,991	—
1926	92,536	61,814	30,722	—
1927	80,389	65,133	15,256	—
1928	87,006	68,126	18,880	—
1929	90,443	68,779	21,664	—
1930	45,921	59,591	—	13,670
1931	59,065	58,844	221	—
1932	53,904	60,992	—	7,088
1933	57,453	72,650	—	15,197
1934	70,680	71,284	—	604
1935	77,484	70,731	6,753	—
1936	94,915	76,644	18,271	—
1937	97,137	78,149	20,988	—
TOTALS ...	£1,001,685	£872,498	£165,746	£36,559

Source: R.J. Randall, 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities ...'

Appendix XV Anti-Kaffir Beer Manufacturing League Pamphlet, 1929, Translation

NOTICE

REGARDING KAFFIR BEER AT DURBAN - NATIVES ARE DISGUSTED

In sympathy with the Native who has been deprived of his badge at the Point

A meeting of all Natives employed in gangs at the Point as well as Togh labourers which was held in the Hall of the I.C.U. yase Natal resolved that all Natives must be told that they must part company with kaffir beer which is obtained by purchase because their funds have become exhausted through buying beer not knowing what benefit they derive from it except to build compounds and barracks which are full of bad laws and disagreeable control; because a Native who lives in these barracks is like a prisoner on account of the regulations governing them. All their grievances, when presented to those in charge, are absolutely ignored.

The control of these barracks at Durban has made many Natives realise that these barracks were built in order to control them by laws of partiality, because it is not desired that they should demur when they are ill-treated. (literally "treated in a frivolous manner").

Those in charge forget that these places were built with (Natives') money which they spent on kaffir beer. If a Native loses his belongings at these places, those in charge do nothing for him although many Natives are housed together.

Kaffir beer has caused many Natives to lose their homes because it is kept close to them and sold to them and they lose their money and self-respect, while those in charge obtain funds to enable them to create disagreeable control.

THE UNDESIRABILITY OF KAFFIR BEER TO THE NATIVES AT DURBAN

1. It takes away his money, makes him drunk; when he is drunk the Corporation puts him in Gaol.
2. It has enriched the Corporation at Durban and it has built barracks for Natives where they are ill-treated.
3. It has created Natives who are spendthrifts because they are daily enticed to it.
4. It builds large barracks for Natives where their belongings are stolen daily and no assistance is rendered to recover them; the Corporation compels them to live in them.
5. It has created many "orphans" at their kraals because a Native who has no money in Durban never wishes to return to his home.

BEWARE!

A Native who commits a breach of these resolutions will be punished by its promoters according to their law.

BY ORDER

ANTI KAFFIR BEER MANUFACTURING LEAGUE.

45 Prince Edward Street
Durban

Source: T.C.F. Durban Native Riots - June 1929, Vol.43, File No.323:1. Official Translation of original pamphlet.

Appendix XVI African Convictions for Public Violence in
Three main South African Urban Centres, 1926-35.

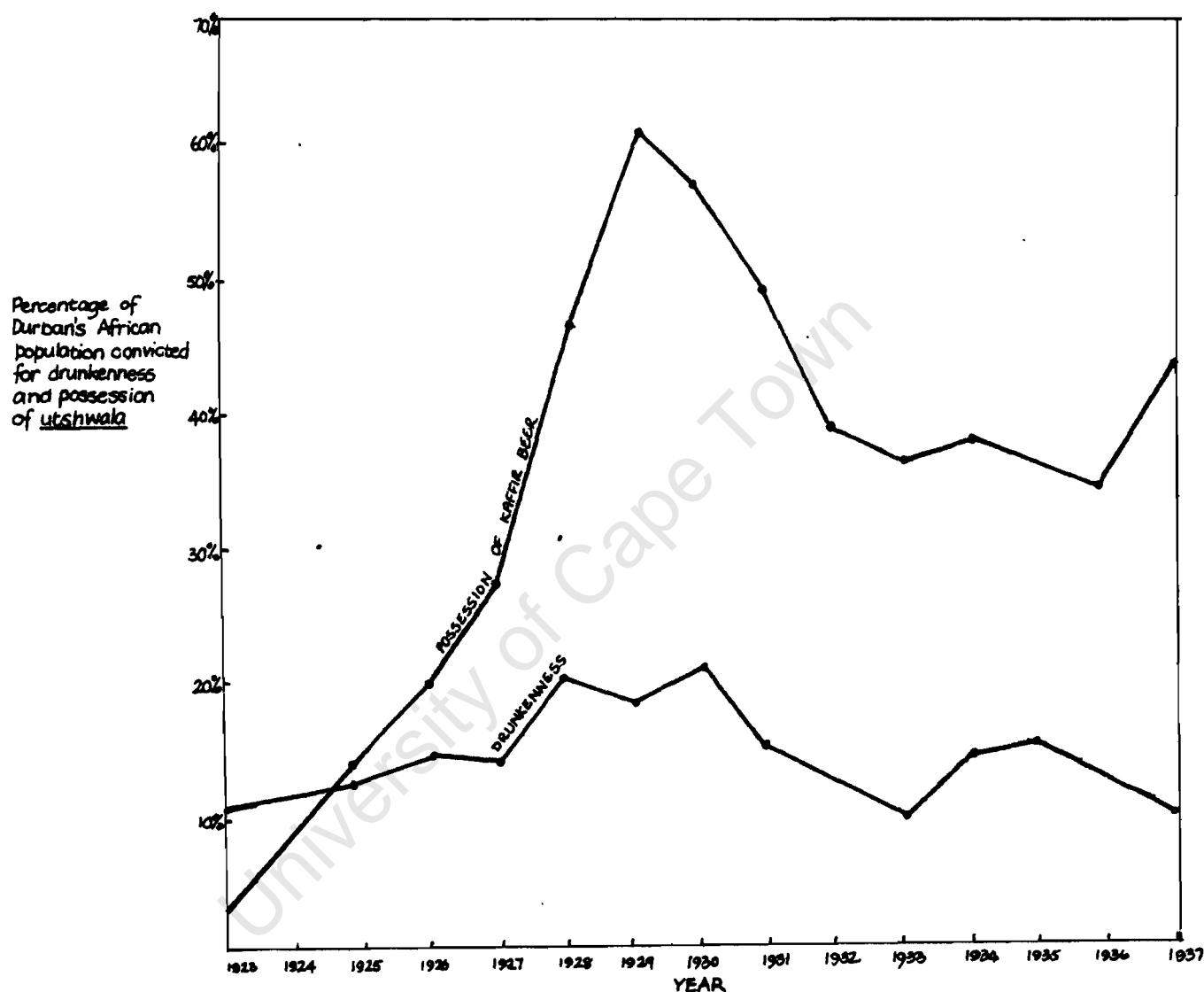
	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
	+ ++ M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F
* D	337 35	327 33	168 40	109 31	157 24	110 12	124 12	102 12	90 -	63 1
** W	168 2	41 -	94 1	91 -	83 -	85 8	101 20	96 14	126 17	103 2
*** C.P.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

* Durban
** Witwatersrand
*** Cape Peninsula

+ Male
++ Female

Source : Reports on the Statistics for Crime for the years 1926 to 1935, Report Nos.3-11, Office of Census and Statistics, Pretoria.

Appendix XVII African Convictions for Possession of Utshwala (Kaffir Beer) and Drunkenness in Durban, 1923-1937 (per 1 000 members of the African population)



Source: T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.2, Official figures taken from the Statistics of Crime, Government Office of Census and Statistics.

**Appendix XVIII Africans Charged with Contravening Liquor,
Vagrancy and Breach of the Peace Bye-Laws
in Durban, 1902-1936.**

Year	African Popula- tion	Drunken- ness	Vagrancy	Breach of the the Peace	Possess- ion of Utshwala	Possess- ion of other illicit brews	Possess- ion of European liquor
1902	19 937	1 200	-	-	-	-	171
1903	20 000	1 098	-	-	-	-	203
1904	18 929	1 135	-	-	-	-	185
1905	19 000	939	-	-	-	-	234
1906	17 000	938	1 298	932	-	-	274
1907	17 000	1 268	1 452	726	-	-	86
1908	16 329	716	1 679	915	-	-	55
1909	15 900	453	1 063	503	204	-	60
1910	16 489	320	440	397	60	68	47
1911	17 756	339	415	458	29	28	76
1912	17 756	340	468	474	13	19	51
1913	20 302	316	580	444	2	23	72
1914*	20 302	332	853	433	4	37	103
1915*	20 302	454	710	454	30	55	90
1916*	25 000	641	1 107	646	47	76	174
1917	25 000	796	2 411	760	31	120	201
1918-1922	(No	Minutes	Printed)				
1923*	32 000	754	1 843	754	31	92	38
1924*	35 000	856	2 100	833	22	133	81
1925*	27 861	628	1 915	671	20	200	95
1926*	38 000	984	2 733	918	44	441	165
1927*	38 000	890	18	932	23	467	157
1928*	38 170	1 620	624	1 483	1	3	154
1929	42 180	1 321	1 690	2 143	1	794	99
1930	43 460	1 841	941	1 758	24	1 121	219
1931	43 750	1 468	321	1 236	1 051	1 051	352
1932	43 750	1 184	188	1 184	1 113	1 113	296
1933	64 610	1 151	299	773	193	1 362	272
1934*	64 610	1 392	258	832	237	1 316	239
1935	64 610	1 733	454	1 143	213	1 667	287
1936	63 762	1 225	347	793	106	1 138	292

* rough estimates of African population

Source : Superintendent of Police Report Books Nos.6 and 7;
Mayor's Minutes, 1908-1937.

Appendix XIX Rate of African Wages in Major Industrial Concerns in Durban, 1917-1931 (rate in shillings).

<u>Industry</u>	1917	1919	1922	1925	1929	1931
Baking	33	35	32½	32½	32½	116½ nett*
Drapers	42½	33	33	37½	42½	45
Furniture	32½	31½	42½	45	50	50
Dairying	30	30	30	45	45	45
Engineers	67	67	67	67	72	72
Timber	35	40	45	45	45	45
Millers	40	40	40	40	40	45
Wool	32½	32½	45	45	45	45
Meat	51	50	50	47½	55	55
Building	55	60	72 nett	72 nett	72 nett	72 nett
Ironmongery	52½	50	52½	60	45	45
Wholesalers	<u>32½</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>32½</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>37½</u>	<u>37½</u>
Average	41/11	42/-	46/-	47/7	48/10	56/-

* Increase as a result of Wage Determination gazetted on 13 February 1931

Source: T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.1, Evidence of Native Administration Committee of the Durban Town Council to Native Economic Commission, March 1931.

Appendix XX Registered African Male Employees in Durban, 1919/20-1929/30; and African Visitors and Workseekers in Durban, 1919/20-1932/33.

Year	Initial regist- rations	Monthly Re- newals	Re-reg- istrat- ions	Average monthly Employed	Monthly Visitors	Female Visitors	Work- Seekers
1919/20	14 911	225 025	31 077	21 668	20 377	23 569	29 990
1920/21	16 376	237 012	32 788	23 848	24 206	25 171	27 526
1921/22	14 251	235 122	33 721	23 591	24 681	30 038	31 639
1922/23	17 508	290 292	41 635	29 119	22 668	25 901	40 880
1923/24	16 352	294 729	44 212	29 606	15 800	10 804	29 718
1924/25	17 068	321 829	44 299	31 933	18 143	21 943	30 553
1925/26	17 189	344 416	47 062	34 051	19 320	25 624	41 194
1926/27	12 745	343 134	42 139	34 001	15 868	16 110	40 336
1927/28	14 401	336 639	44 866	32 992	5 501	7 447	44 667
1928/29	14 208	338 141	45 783	32 804	4 478	2 974	42 299
1929/30	14 160	314 916	41 295	30 864	1 795	528	25 976
1930/31	-	-	-	-	2 322	230	23 678
1931/32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1932/33	-	-	-	-	1 850	315	23 678

Source : T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt,1, Evidence of the Native Administration Committee of the Durban Town Council to Native Economic Commission, March 1931.

Appendix XX1 Recipe for Making One Hundred Gallons of
Municipal Kaffir Beer

Steeping and Germinating Corn and Malt

Steep for 48 hours. Period for germinating is about 60 to 70 hours, according to climatic conditions.

Mashing

1st. Pour into vat 12 gallons cold water.

2nd. Put in 62lbs Corn Meal and 65lbs Mealie Meal

Stir above into a semi-dry mash.

Then add boiling water until contents of vat reach 40 gallon mark on measuring rod.

3rd. Put in 37lbs Malt Meal and pour in more boiling water until contents reach 49 gallon mark.

Give the mixture a stirring and allow to stand for about 5 hours to cool. Then add cold water to 51 gallon mark. The mixture may stand from 20 to 40 hours before boiling into porridge.

Boiling

Add boiling water until contents reach 117 gallon mark on measuring rod.

Stir up at frequent intervals during cooking and when boiling has set in, continue boiling for about 2 hours.

Fermenting

Add 96lbs Malt Meal into the porridge and knead the mixture into an even slush, and run into fermenting vat. Fermentation takes about 24 hours (dependent on climatic conditions). When sufficiently fermented a thick scum of coarse grain forms on top.

When sufficient degree of fermentation has taken place, the resultant mixture is then strained through 24 mesh gauze sieves.

The foregoing formula is based on an average germinated malt, - say 75%. The malt will regulate the alcoholic content. In the above this content should approximate to 2.5%.

Source: T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Box 25, File 91, jkt.1, 1935

Appendix XXII Absolute Growth of Durban Secondary Industry
1924-1945.

	Fixed Capital £('000)	Gross Output £('000)	Value Added £('000)	Number Employed ('000)
1924/25	4 456	8 757	4 030	17 642
1929/30	5 652	12 005	4 030	20 341
1934/35	6 349	13 599	5 273	23 504
1939/40	9 092	23 734	5 844	34 312
1942/43	10 896	33 813	10 955	42 008
1943/44	11 901	40 185	15 255	46 209
1944/45	12 665	-	-	50 178

Source: Census of Industrial Establishments, U.G. 20-46
quoted in Industrial Durban (Durban Publicity
Association/City Council, Durban, 1947), p.18

Appendix XXIII Some Football Clubs affiliated to the Durban
and District African Football Association
during the period 1923-1933.

Wild Savages	Lions	Rainbows
Come Again	Vultures	Flying Wings
Rebellions	Callies	Candidates
Wild Zebras	Jumpers	Antelopes
Willows	Wanderers	Fight for Ever
Natal Cannons	Springboks	Golden Stars
Assegais	Shooting Stars	Union Jacks
Victorious	Swallows	Clean Sweepers
Bush Bucks	N.G.R.	Condors
Jumpers	Corinthians	

Source: T.C.F. Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.
59A, File 352, jkts.1-3, 1930-34; and B. Magubane,
'Sport and Politics in an Urban African Community -
A Case Study of African Voluntary Organisations',
unpublished M.Soc.Sci. thesis, University of Natal,
Durban, 1963.

Appendix XXIV Estimated Breakdown of Durban's African
Working and non-Working Population, 1935.

African Males in Registered Employment

Domestic Service	14 021
Manufacturers	4 269
Merchants	4 731
Miscellaneous	13 219
Police	352
Dairy	518
Ricksha	1 187
Stevedores	704
Stone Quarries	474
Togt	1 118
Engineers	2 504
TOTAL	43 097 *

Africans Employed but not Liable to Registration

Women	2 000
Men	800
TOTAL	2 800

Africans Unemployed

Males	5 500
-------	-------

Africans Unemployable

Aged and Juveniles	5 000
--------------------	-------

<u>Grand Total</u>	56 397
--------------------	--------

* This does not include employers of the S.A.R. and H.

Source: T.C.F. Native Affairs in the City, Box 66,
File 467, jkt.2, Native Housing Survey,
August 1935.

Appendix XXV Local Authorities Manufacturing and Supplying Sorghum Beer as at 1 January 1942

Municipality.	Date of Opening Beer Hall.	Monopoly Granted by :	Regulations Published under :	Amended by G.N. No.
TRANSVAAL.				
Barberton.....	4/10/40 for 12 months; extended for further 12 months from 4/10/41	G.N. 1573/40, " 1091/40, " 1122/41	G.N. 1573/40	
Benoni.....	1/1/38	" 2033/37	" 2033/37	387/38
Boksburg.....	19/11/38	" 1904/38	" 1903/38	
Brakpan.....	6/1/39	" 30/39	" 30/39	690/41
Delmas.....	1/1/38	" 2037/37	" 2037/37	934/38
Germiston.....	7/1/38	" 6/38	" 1332/39	
Heidelberg.....	1/7/38	" 1084/38	" 1034/38	
Heerlenes.....	1/5/38	" 678/38	" 678/38	777/39, 1015/41
Johannesburg.....	1/1/38	" 2042/37	" 2042/37	52/38
Krugersdorp.....	1/1/38	" 2026/37	" 2026/37	1169/39
Middelburg, Tvl.....	1/9/40	" 786/40	" 1896/39	
Nigel.....	1/1/38	" 2040/37	" 2040/37	695/38, 1131/39
Pretoria.....	1/1/38	" 2039/37	" 2039/37	1624/40, 731/38
Randfontein.....	4/2/38	" 200/38	" 200/38	1567/38
Roseville.....				
Maraisburg.....	7/1/38	" 16/38	" 16/38	694/39
Springs.....	7/1/38	" 15/38	" 15/38	1106/39
Vereeniging.....	1/9/39	" 1095/39	" 1095/39	
Witbank.....	14/1/38	" 51/38	" 51/38	427/38
CAPE.				
Cradock.....	19/12/39	" 2000/39	" 2000/39	
Colesberg.....	1/1/38	" 2011/37	" 2011/37	732/38
East London.....	1/7/38	" 1066/38	" 1066/38	1676/38, 759/39
Grahamstown.....	7/7/39	" 951/39	" 951/39	
Kimberley.....	1/8/40	" 1238/40	" 1238/40	
Moffet.....	1/9/39	" 1202/39	" 1202/39	
Somerset East.....	1/6/38	" 601/38	" 601/38	1581/38, 269/41
NATAL.				
Dundee.....	1/1/12	Act 23/08	" 280/37	
Durban.....	Jan., 1909	" 23/08	" 1456/25	
Glenco.....	1/1/39	G.N. 2006/38	" 2006/38	1006/39
Eastcourt.....	1/1/18	Act 23/08	" 645/33	1014/36
Greytown.....	18/7/10	P.N. 35/18	" 820/38	
Harding.....	1/6/34	G.N. 559/34	" 559/34	
Howick.....	1/4/29	" 569/29	" 799/29	
Ladysmith.....	1/1/12	P.N. 55/12	P.N. 55/12	
Newcastle.....	1909	Act 23/08	P.N. dated 19/2/08	
Pietermaritzburg.....	Feb., 1909	Act 23/08	G.N. 200/39	
Pietermaritzburg.....	1/1/25	G.N. 50/25	" 915/37	
Tongaat.....	1/8/27	" 2030/27	"	
Tongaat.....	1/9/39	" 1042/39	" 1042/39	
Verulam.....	1/2/24	" 511/24	" 2042/24	
Vryheid.....	1/1/13	Act 23/08	Prom. 438/30, P.N. 58/13 and G.N. 1748/34	
ORANGE FREE STATE.				
Weenen.....	1/6/24	G.N. 1182/24	" 1466/38	
Bethlehem.....	1/11/39	" 1574/39	" 1574/39	1731/40
Dewetsdorp.....	1/10/40	" 1547/40	" 1511/40	
Parys.....	1/7/40	" 903/40	" 903/40	1340/40
Petrusburg.....	1/10/38	" 1361/38	" 1361/38	
Wesmar.....	1/8/41	" 1046/41	" 1047/41	
Easton.....	12/12/38	" 2031/38	" 2031/38	

Source: Report of the Native Affairs Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Workings of the Provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act Relating to the Use and Supply of Kaffir Beer, An.139-1943

Appendix XXVI.

Income and Expenditure of the Native Beer Account and the
Native Revenue Account (Inclusive of the Native Beer Account)
of Certain Municipalities, 1943.

Town	Native Beer Account				Native Revenue Account (including Native Beer Account)		Result			
	Income	Expendi- ture	Profit	As % of Total N.R.A. Revenue	Income	Expendi- ture	Excluding Native Beer Account		Including Native Beer Account	
							Deficit	Surplus	Deficit	Surplus
Benoni	6,000	3,900	2,100	9	25,600	23,300	—	200	—	2,300
Bloomfontein	—	—	—	—	40,000	39,000	—	—	—	100
Boksburg	17,500	7,400	10,100	34	31,400	20,400	8,100	—	—	2,000
Brakpan	36,600	15,000	21,000	53	45,600	39,500	14,000	—	—	6,100
Cape Town	—	—	—	—	51,700	65,200	—	—	13,500	—
Dundee	3,100	2,000	1,100	26	4,200	4,200	1,100	—	—	—
Durban	97,400	48,000	40,400	36	166,000	137,300	20,700	—	—	28,700
East London	4,400	3,500	900	2	34,400	42,500	9,000	—	8,100	—
Germiston	14,500	10,000	4,500	10	46,000	44,800	2,500	—	—	2,000
Johannesburg	101,000	53,700	47,300	14	300,900	327,700	74,100	—	26,800	—
Kimberley	4,100	5,200	1,100*	—	17,700	21,500	2,700	—	3,800	—
Krugersdorp	7,400	3,000	3,800	16	24,100	24,300	4,000	—	200	—
Nigel	7,800	5,000	2,800	14	10,700	20,200	3,300	—	500	—
Pietermaritzburg	7,800	7,800	10,000	39	30,400	25,500	2,000	—	—	4,900
Port Elizabeth	—	—	—	—	80,300	78,600	—	—	—	1,700
Pretoria	13,700	8,500	5,200	9	40,100	57,400	22,500	—	17,300	—
Rodopoot-Maraiburg	7,300	2,300	5,000	65	11,400	7,700	1,300	—	—	3,700
Springs	51,700	22,000	29,700	46	77,000	64,700	17,400	—	—	12,300
Vereeniging	800	1,300	500*	—	10,700	11,800	600	—	—	1,100

¹ All figures excepting those relating to Dundee and Nigel from U.G. No. 40, 1945, p. 33.

*Loss.

Source : Social and Economic Planning Council, Report No.8, U.G. 40-45,
quoted in E. Hellmann (ed.), Handbook on Race Relations
(Cape Town, 1949), p.263.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography has been divided into:

I PRIMARY SOURCESA. OFFICIAL

1. Natal Colonial Government
 - (a) Unpublished
 - (b) Published
2. Union and Republic Government
 - (a) Unpublished
 - (b) Published
3. Natal Province
 - (a) Unpublished
 - (b) Published
4. Durban Municipality
 - (a) Unpublished
 - (b) Published
5. Court Records

B. UNOFFICIAL

- (a) Unpublished
- (b) Published

II SECONDARY SOURCES

I PRIMARY SOURCESA. OFFICIAL1. Natal Colonial Government(a) Unpublished(i) Government House

General Memoranda Natal Natives	Vol.1544 (1879-1881)
	Vol.1545 (1881-1895)
	Vol.1546 (1896-1902)
	Vol.1547 (1903-1905)
	Vol.1548 (1905-1906)
	Vol.1549 (1906-1907)
	Vol.1550 (1907)
	Vol.1551 (1907)
	Vol.1552 (1909-1910)
Secret General Memoranda	Vol.1552 (1878-1903)
	Vol.1553 (1903)
	Vol.1554 (1903-1907)
Confidential General Memoranda	Vol.1554 (1878)
	Vol.1555 (1878-1906)
	Vol.1556 (1906-1909)

(ii) Prime Minister's Office

Vol.21 1901/721
 Vol.26 1902/351
 Vol.75 1909/60
 Vol.76 1909/175

(iii) Colonial Secretary's Office

Vol. 783, 4843/1880
 Vol.1394, 2074/1895
 Vol.1429, 2053/1895
 Vol.1870, 2063/1909
 Vol.1884, 592/1910

(iv) Secretary for Native Affairs

Vol.1/1/265, 2555/1897
 Vol.1/1/295, 905/1902
 Vol.1/1/299, 50/1903
 Vol.1/1/3/1, 1293/1903
 Vol.1/1/321, 1273/1905
 Vol.1/1/335, 407/1906
 Vol.1/1/340, 1342/1906, 1343/1906
 Vol.1/1/346, 2389/1906

Vol.1/1/351, 294/1906
 Vol.1/1/361, 197/1907
 Vol.1/1/362, 425/1907
 Vol.1/1/363, 523/1907
 Vol.1/1/365, 887/1907, 906/1907
 Vol.1/1/367, 1116/1907
 Vol.1/1/271, 1849/1907
 Vol.1/1/375, 2422/1907, 2447/1907
 Vol.1/1/389, 123/1908
 Vol.1/1/390, 178/1908
 Vol.1/1/396, 1050/1908
 Vol.1/1/398, 1364/1908
 Vol.1/1/399, 1530/1908
 Vol.1/1/416, 3514/1908
 Vol.1/1/418, 3762/1908, 3818/1908.
 Vol.1/1/425, 748/1909
 Vol.1/1/436, 1954/1909
 Vol.1/1/454, 57/1910
 Vol.1/1/475, 3324/1910

(b) Published

(i) Committee and Commission Reports

Report of Select Committee on increased drunkenness among native population, S.P. 1877, L.C. No.32.

Correspondence re increased drunkenness among native population, S.P. 1877, L.C. No.17.

Report of Select Committee on liquor supply to natives, S.P. 1891, L.C. No.37.

Report of Select Committee on liquor laws Consolidation Bill No.2, 1891, S.P. 1896, L.A. No.11.

Report of Select Committee on Liquor Act Amendment Bill No. 43 1899, S.P. 1899, L.A. No.24.

Report of the Committee on the supply of intoxicating liquor to Natives, S.P. 1892.

South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05, Report and Evidence, 5 vols., Cape Town, 1905.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1906-07, Pietermaritzburg, 1907.

(ii) Blue Books

Natal Blue Book on Native Affairs; 1894, 1895, 1897.

Natal Native Blue Book; 1904, 1910.

(iii) Native High Court

Reports of the Decisions of the Full Court of the Native High Court, Pietermaritzburg, Vol. VII, March 1906 - January 1907; Vol. VIII, March 1907 - December 1907; Vol. IX, March 1908 - December 1908.

(iv) Legislative Debates

Debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly, Pietermaritzburg, Vol. 25, 18 March 1897 - 20 May 1897; Vols. 36 - 46, 14 April 1904 - 28 September 1908; Vols. 48 - 49, 16 June 1909 - 3 February 1910.

Debates of the Natal Legislative Council Vol. 11, 1 May 1902; Vols. 15 - 20, 3 May 1906 - February 1910.

(v) Government Gazettes

Natal Government Gazettes, 1904 - 1908 (miscellaneous issues)

2. Union and Republic Government(a) Unpublished(i) Department of Justice

Department of Justice File K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29.

Department of Justice File K22 B.1, Enquiry Durban Native Riots - Exhibits, File 6301/29.

(ii) Minutes of Evidence of Commissions

Minutes of Evidence of Native Riots Commission, Durban, July 1929.

Minutes of Evidence of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932 (Found in National Archives, Pretoria; South African Library, Cape Town and in Herbst Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, African Studies Department, University of Cape Town Libraries). Native Economic Commission, Records of Statements from Durban, 26 B.14.

(b) Published(i) Annual Reports

Blue Book on Native Affairs 1910, U.17-11.

Report of the Native Affairs Department 1911, U.G. 10-13.

Report of the Native Affairs Department 1912, U.G. 33-13.

Report of the Native Affairs Department 1913-1918, U.G. 7-19.

Report of the Native Affairs Department 1922-1926, U.G. 14-27.

(ii) Commission and Select Committee and other Reports

Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into Assaults on Women 1913, U.G. 39-13.

Report of the Tuberculosis Commission 1914, U.G. 34-14.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1921, U.G. 15-22.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1932-1933, U.G. 3-34.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1936, U.G. 48-37.

Report of the Select Committee on the Working of the Transvaal Liquor Laws 1918, S.C. 2-18.

Report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs, S.C. 3-23.

Report of the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill, 2 Vols., S.C. 7-26.

Second Report of the Select Committee on Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, Amendment Bill, S.C. 614-29.

Report of the Local Government Commission 1921, T.P. 1-22.

Report of Native Population in Durban, An. 205-1930.

Report of Commission of Inquiry into Native Riots at Bloemfontein, 1925, Government Gazette, 11 September 1925.

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws, 1920, U.G. 41-22.

Report of the Commission on Native Riots in Durban, An. 133-1929.

Report of the Native Economic Commission 1930-1932, U.G. 22-32.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission appointed to Enquire into the Working of the Provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act Relating to the use and supply of Kaffir Beer, An. 139-1943.

Notes on Conference between Municipalities and Native Affairs Department Held at Pretoria on 28th and 29th September 1937, to discuss the Provisions of the Native Laws Amendment Act (No.46 of 1937), U.G. 56-37.

Social and Economic Planning Council. Report No.8. Local Government Functions and Finances, U.G. 40-45.

Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the use of Profits derived from the Manufacture, Sale and Supply of Kaffir Beer. (Mimeo. to be found in the S.A.I.R.R. Papers, University of Witwatersrand).

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the General Distribution and Selling Prices of Intoxicating Liquor, U.G. 55-1960.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots At Soweto and Elsewhere from the 16th of June 1976 to the 28th February 1977, 2 vols., R.P. 55/1980.

(iii) Office of Census and Statistics

Report on the Statistics of Crime for the year 1923 (un-numbered) and for the years 1926-35, Nos. 3-12.

Census, 1911, Preliminary Returns, U.G. 32-11.

Census, 1911, Report, U.G. 32-12.

Census, 1921, Part I, Population, U.G. 15-23.

Census, 1921, Part VIII, Non-European races, U.G. 40-24.

Report on Industries in Durban 1915-16 to 1922-23, Special Report No.28, Pretoria 1924.

(iv) Government Gazettes

Government Gazettes 1910-1943 (miscellaneous issues).

3. Natal Province

(a) Unpublished

(i) Chief Native Commissioner

Vol.12, 494/1911
 Vol.87, 1633/1912
 Vol.207, 664/1914
 Vol.223, 417/1916
 Vol.254, 1604/1916
 Vol.264B, 1997/1916, 2174/1918
 Vol.197, 2987/1917, 2997/1917, 2999/1917
 Vol.298, 4132/1917
 Vol.329, 2171/1918, 2178/1918, 2185/1918
 Vol.330A, 2186/1918

(b) Published(i) Provincial Gazettes

Natal Provincial Gazette, 1915-1932 (miscellaneous issues)

4. Durban Municipality(a) Unpublished(i) Durban Corporation Letterbooks

Papers Received: Vols. 544-660, 1904-1914.
 Vol. 771, 1908.
 Vol. 804, 1915-1916
 Vol. 805A, 1919
 Vol. 806, 1931

Odd Letterbooks: Vol. 808, 1905-1914
 Vol. 809, 1901-1905
 Vol. 809(b), 1906-1915

(ii) Durban Town Clerk's Files

Native Beer, Vol.48 File 91, jkt.N, October 1908 - March 1919.

Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48 File 91, jkt.1, January 1916-
 November 1916
 jkt.1, October 1916-
 April 1920
 jkt.3, May 1920-December
 1924

Native Beer Drunkenness Reports, Analyses etc., Vol.48 File 91,
 jkt J, January 1915-November 1915.

Kaffir Beer, Vol.17 File 91, jkt.1, December 1924 - October 1928.
 jkt.2, November 1928 - December 1928.

Kaffir Beer, Vol.21 File 91, jkt.1, January 1930 - March 1934.
 jkt, 2, April 1934 - December 1934.

Kaffir Beer, Box 25 File 91, jkt.1, October 1935 - October 1938.
 jkt.2, October 1938 - May 1941.
 jkt.3, June 1941 - October 1943.
 jkt.4, November 1943 - December 1945.
 jkt.5, January 1946 - July 1948.
 jkt.6, August 1948 - December 1949.

Native Brewery, Supply of, Vol.54 File 110, June 1914 - July 1916.

Native Brewery, Vol.54 File 110, January 1916 -
 November 1924.

- Native Brewery, Vol.26 File 110, January 1932 - May 1932.
- Native Brewery, Box 28 File 110, jkt.1, 1935-1948.
jkt.2, 1948-1949.
- Native Eating Houses, Vol.91 File 269, jkt.1, August 1914 - November 1915.
jkt.2, February 1916 - October 1919.
jkt.3, October 1919 - September, 1923.
- Native Affairs, Vol.103 File 467, jkt.1. October 1913 - June 1924.
jkt.2, July 1924 - December 1924.
- Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48 File 467, jkt.1, January 1925-December 1928.
jkt.2, January 1929 - December 1929.
- Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63 File 467, jkt.1, July 1930 - April 1931.
jkt.2, April 1931 - April 1932.
jkt.3, May 1932- November 1932.
jkt.4, December 1932 - June 1933.
jkt.5, June 1933 - June 1934.
jkt.6, June 1934 - December 1934.
- Native Affairs in the City, Box 66 File 467, jkt.1, December 1934 - June 1935.
jkt.2, July 1935 - March 1936.
jkt.3, March 1936 - December 1936.
jkt.4, January 1937 - October 1941.
jkt.5, November 1941 - November 1946.
jkt.6, November 1946 - November 1949.
- Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.43 File 315, jkt.1, January 1924 - December 1927
jkt.2, January 1928 - December 1929.
- Native Affairs Departmental, Vol.55 File 315, jkt.1, January 1930 - August 1931.
jkt.2, August 1931 - July 1932.

jkt.3, July 1932
 - August 1933.
 jkt.4, September
 1933 - October 1934.
 jkt.5, October 1934
 - December 1934.

Native Affairs Departmental, Box 60 File 315c, jkt.4, September
 1933 - October 1934.
 jkt.5, October 1934
 - December 1934.

Native Affairs Departmental, Box 60 File 315, jkt.1, January 1935
 - April 1936.

Native Locations, Vol.36 File 49, jkt.1, November 1911 -
 December 1918.
 jkt.2, March 1919 - December
 1921.
 jkt.3, February 1922 -
 December 1924.

Native Locations, Vol.14 File 49, jkt.1, January 1930 - November
 1930.
 jkt.2, November 1930 - September
 1934.
 jkt.3, August 1932 - September
 1934.

Native Locations, Box 18 File 49, jkt.1, October 1934 - January
 1937.

Native Village, Vol.40 File 68, October 1914 - August 1916.

Regulations, Native Hostels, Vol.12 File 49B, jkt.1, January 1925
 - December 1929.

Draft Bye-Laws - Registration of Natives, Vol.99 File 359A,
 jkt.3, August 1920 - November 1924.

Native Pass System, Vol.99 File 359, March 1912 - February 1923.

Establishment of Native Administration Department, Vol.70 File
 168, July 1915 - November 1915.

Grants-in-aid from Native Beer Fund, Vol.192 File 417, June 1914 -
 December 1916.

Native Savings, Vol.70 File 167, September 1914 - December 1915.

Native Revenue Account, Vol.49 File 467, jkt.1, January 1930 -
 July 1934.
 jkt.2, July 1934 -
 December 1934.

Taking Over Police By Government, Vol.5 File 19J,
 jkt.1, February 1920 -
 October 1920.
 jkt.2, June 1925 - May 1935.
 jkt.3, February 1930 -
 November 1934.

Native Dance Halls and Meetings, Vol.63 File 467c,
 jkt.1, May 1931 - June 1934.
 jkt.2, July 1934 - December 1934.

Indian and Native Recreation Grounds, Vol.59A File 352,
 jkt.1, January 1930 -
 December 1930.
 jkt.2, December 1930 -
 September 1933.
 jkt.3, November 1933 -
 December 1934.

Lieta Gangs, reports, bye-laws, Vol.110 File 605, jkt.1, March
 1916 - May 1917.

Natives Carrying Sticks, Vol.103 File 467B, November 1919 -
 April 1920.

Bye-laws re Natives Carrying Sticks, Vol.48 File 467B, October
 1925 - June 1926.

Natives Carrying Sticks, Box 66 File 467B, 1937 - 1938.

Ricksha Pullers, Box 1613, January 1930 - January 1934.

Durban Municipal Inquiry, August 1927, Volume I, Box 5 File 2.
 Volume II, Box 5 File 3.

Native Advisory Board, Vol.57 File 323A, jkt.1, December 1929 -
 November 1930.
 jkt.2, November 1930 -
 October 1931.
 jkt.3, September 1931 -
 December 1934.

Native Advisory Board, Box 62 File 323A, jkt.1, 29 December 1934
 - 21 September 1936.

Durban Native Riots - June 1929, Vol.43 File 323:1, June 1929 -
 December 1929.

Durban Native Riots - 1929, Vol.57 File 323, December 1929 -
 February 1932.

Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, July 1929, Box 5
 File 5.

Durban Native Riots, Box 62 File 323, 1936-1942.

(iii) Police Reports

Superintendent of Police Reports : Book 6, 1897 - 1903.
 Book 7, 1903 - 1909.
 Book 8, 1909 - 1914.

(iv) Minute Books

Minutes of the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade
 Committee : Book 1, 1914-1917.
 Book 2, 1917-1920.

Minutes of the Native Administration Committee :
 Book 3, 1929-1933.
 Book 4, 1933-1936.
 Book 5, 1936-1937.

Minutes of the Native Advisory Board :
 Book 1, 1930-1934.
 Book 2, 1934-1936.

(v) Other

Native Administration Committee Report Book, 1929

(b) Published(i) Mayor's Minutes

Durban Mayor's Minutes, 1908-1937.

5. Court Records(i) Durban Criminal Records

D. Court 1910-1949; Case heard by L.O. Oxland, 3 January 1916,
 Nineteen African males charged with congregating to disturb
 by violent means the peace.

D. Court 1910-1949, Case heard by E.N. Braatvedt, 28 June 1922,
 Thirty African males charged with congregating to disturb
 by violent means the peace.

A. Court, 1927-1932, Case heard by T.J. Conway, 28 August 1929,
 Six members of the I.C.U. yase Natal charged in terms of the
 Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act.

A. Court, 1927-1932, Case heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931, Thirty one Africans charged in terms of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act.

(ii) Durban Magistrate's Records

File 1/9/2/1, Native Politics and Unrest, Disturbances - June 1929 - December 1929.

File 1/9/2/2, Native Politics and Unrest, Disturbances - 1936.

(iii) Durban Magistrate's Correspondence

Vol.494, Natives: general, 1913-14, File D 4/280/1914.

Vol.499, Natives: general, 1914, File 4/174/1914.

Vol.505, Natives: general 1916-17, File 4/14/1037/16.

Vol.506, Natives: general 1916-20, File 4/14/1037/16.

Vol.511, Natives: general 1918, File 27/507/1918.

Vol.513, Natives: general 1918-20, File 27/557/19.

Vol.590, Wars: World War "I" 1914, File 7/860/14/6.

B. UNOFFICIAL

(a) Unpublished

(i) Manuscript Sources

American Board Mission Collection, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, Files A2 - A5.

Marshall Campbell Papers, Killie Campbell Library, Durban, File 4.

Carter-Karis Microfilm Collection, African Studies Department, University of Cape Town Libraries, Reels 3A, 3B, 13, 13A, 15, 15A, 17A, 23.

Lionel Forman Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, University of Cape Town Libraries, Files A.1, A.2, B.3, B.4, B.5, B.6, B.21, B.22.

Marwick Papers, Killie Campbell Library, Durban, Files 5, 6, 74.

Heaton-Nicholls Papers, Killie Campbell Library, Durban, File 4.

South African Institute of Race Relations Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, Files on Liquor.

Alfred Xuma Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, Boxes A, D, E.

Zulu Society Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, Boxes 1-7.

(b) Published

(i) Newspapers

Durban Communist News, 19 April 1931.

Ilanga lase Natal, 1903-1927 (miscellaneous copies)

Izwe la Kiti, 1912-1914.

Natal Advertiser, 1902-1933 (miscellaneous copies)

Natal Mercury, 1904-1948 (miscellaneous copies)

Natal Witness, 1908-1927 (miscellaneous copies)

South African Worker, 31 January 1929, 25 April 1930, 2 May 1930.

Times of Natal, 1908, (miscellaneous copies).

Udibi Lwase Afrika, September 1927, February 1928.

(ii) Pamphlets

Bryant, A.T., A Description of native foodstuffs and their preparation. (Pietermaritzburg, 1907)

Cook, A.J., Town Councils and Kaffir-beer: the case against municipal brewing (Cape Town, 1922)

Cook, A.J., The Durban System: Building locations on Kaffir-beer (Cape Town, 1921).

Cook, A.J., Municipalities and Kaffir-beer. Why not the Durban System? (Cape Town, 1922).

Industrial Durban: Opportunities at Port Natal (City Council, Durban, 1931)

Industrial Durban (City Council and Durban Publicity Association, Durban, 1947)

Lewis, S., Kaffir Beer Halls: The Failure of "an Experiment" (Johannesburg, 1941)

Lewis, S., Will Municipal Kaffir Beer Halls solve the Illicit Liquor Problem? (Johannesburg, 1936)

Marwick, J.S., The Natives in the Larger Towns (Durban, 1918)

Mason, F., Native Policy in Natal: Past and Future (Durban, 1907)

Orpen, J.M., Natives Drink and Labour: Our Duty (East London, 1913)

Programme of the Natal Native Dancing Championships, 1939

South African Temperance Alliance, Opening the Flood-Gates: The Report of the Rooth Select Committee on Liquor (Cape Town, 1918).

Schreiner, T.L., Government Liquor Monopoly in Russia and the Transvaal (Cape Town, 1901)

Schreiner, T.L., Misleading Figures (Cape Town, 1918)

Xuma, A.B., Kaffir Beer (Johannesburg, 1941)

(iv) Other Printed/Published Reports

Report of the Deputation sent to Durban by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg to Enquire into the System of Housing Natives and the Sale of Kaffir Beer to Natives, 1916. (Copy in Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91).

J. Hope Redford, Report on Enquiry into the Durban System of Control of Native Beer, 30 April 1921. (Copy in Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol.48, File 91).

Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth General Missionary Conference of South Africa Held at Durban 18 to 22nd July, 1932. (Copy in African Studies Department, University of Cape Town Libraries).

Report of the National European and Bantu Conference - Cape Town, February 1929 Lovedale Press, no date. (Copy in African Studies Department, University of Cape Town Libraries).

Report of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives Committee appointed to investigate and report on Health of Durban Natives, c.1925. (Copy in T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.1).

Report of the Location Advisory Boards Congress Held at Queens-town on the 20th December 1928, submitted by R.H. Godlo. (Copy in T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.48, File 467, jkt.2).

Report of the Social Findings Committee of the Joint Coloured and European Conference, 1933. (Copy in T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol.63, File 467, jkt.5).

The Illicit Liquor Problem on the Witwatersrand. Report of the Unofficial Commission Appointed by the South African Temperance Alliance and the South African Institute of Race Relations, 18 May 1935. (Copy in the Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

Urban Native Administration Conference Report. Being a Report of discussions at sessions of the Council-in-Conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1941. (Copy in Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

(II) SECONDARY SOURCES1. Books

Alsop, M.H., The Population of Natal, Natal Regional Survey
Vol.2 (Cape Town, 1952)

• Anderson, P., Arguments within English Marxism (London, 1980)

Bailey, P., Leisure and class in Victorian England; Rational
Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885 (London,
1978)

• Bozzoli, B., The Political Nature of a Ruling Class: Capital
and Ideology in South Africa, 1890-1933 (London, 1981)

. Bozzoli, B. (ed.), Labour, Townships and Protest, Studies in
the Social History of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, 1979)

Bozzoli, B. (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal
(Johannesburg, 1983)

Brookes, E.H., History of Native Policy in South Africa
(Cape Town, 1924)

Brookes, E.H. and Webb, C. de B., A History of Natal (Pieter-
maritzburg, 1965)

Brookes, E.H. and Hurwitz, N., The Native Reserves of Natal,
Natal Regional Survey, Vol.7 (Cape Town, 1957).

Bryant, A.T., Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (Cape Town,
1929)

Bryant, A.T., The Zulu People (Pietermaritzburg, 1949)

Bundy, C., The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry
(London, 1979)

Castells, M., City, Class and Power (New York, 1978)

Clarke, J.H., Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa (New York,
1974)

Clarke, J., Critcher, C. and Johnson, R., (eds.), Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory (London, 1979)

Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, On Ideology (London, 1978)

Cohen, G.A., Karl Marx's Theory of History, A Defence (Oxford, 1982)

Davenport, T.R.H. and Hunt, K.S. (eds.), The Right to the Land (Cape Town, 1974)

Dorn, N., Alcohol, Youth and the State (London, 1983)

• Fanon, F., The Wretched of the Earth (London, 1965)

Flinn, M.W. and Smout, T.C. (eds.), Essays in Social History (London, 1974)

Guy, J. The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom (London, 1979)

Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (eds.), Resistance through Rituals; Youth Subcultures in post-war Britain (London, 1976)

Harrison, B., Drink and the Victorians (London, 1971)

Hellmann, E. and Abrahams, L. (eds.), Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa (Cape Town, 1941)

Hoare, Q. and Smith, G.N., (eds.), Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (London, 1971)

• Hobsbawm, E.J., Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Manchester, 1971).

Hobsbawm, E.J., Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour (London, 1968)

Hurwitz, N., Agriculture in Natal 1860-1950, Natal Regional Survey, Vol.12 (Cape Town, 1957)

- Johnson, R. et al, (eds.), Making Histories (London, 1982)
- Johnstone, F., Class, Race and Gold (London, 1976)
- Karis, G. and Carter, G., (eds.), From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 4 Volumes (Stanford, 1972-1977)
- Katzen, M., Industry in Greater Durban (Pietermaritzburg, 1961)
- Krige, E.J., The Social System of the Zulus (Pietermaritzburg, 1950)
- Kuper, L., An African Bourgeoisie - Race, Class and Politics in South Africa (New Haven, 1965)
- Kuper, L., Watts, H. and Davies, R. Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology (London, 1958)
- Lacey, M., Working for Boroko: The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1981)
- Lee, W.T., Liquor Laws and Regulations of the Colony of Natal (Durban, 1905)
- Lodge, T., Black politics in South Africa since 1945 (Johannesburg, 1983)
- Longmore, L., The Dispossessed (London, 1959)
- Lutuli, A., Let My People Go (Cape Town, 1962)
- Maasdorp, G. and Humphreys, A.S.B., From Shantytown to Township (Durban, 1975)
- Macmillan, A., (ed.), Durban Past and Present (Durban, 1936)
- Mayer, P., Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservation and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City (Cape Town, 1961)

- Marks, S. and Rathbone, R., (eds.), Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa (London, 1982)
- Meszaros, I., (ed.), Aspects of History and Class Consciousness (London, 1971)
- Natal Regional Survey, Baumannville - A Study of an Urban African Community (Cape Town, 1959).
- Natal Regional Survey, The Durban Housing Survey, Research Section of the Department of Economics and other Specialists University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1952)
- Perham, M., African Apprenticeship (New York, 1974)
- Phillips, R., The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand (Lovedale Press, 1938)
- Pickvance, C.G., (ed.), Urban Sociology (London, 1976)
- Ranger, T.O., Dance and Society in Eastern Africa, 1890-1970: the Beni Ngoma (London, 1975)
- Rich, P.B., White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberals, 1921-1960 (Manchester, 1984)
- Richards, A.I., Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia; an Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe (Cape Town, 1939)
- Ringrose, H.G., Trade Unions in Natal, Natal Regional Survey, Vol.4, (Cape Town, 1951)
- Roux, E., Time Longer than Rope (Madison, 1978)
- Rudé, G., The Crowd in History (London, 1981)
- Rudé, G., Ideology and Popular Protest (London, 1980)
- Samuel, R. (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory (London, 1981)

- Watts, H.L. (ed.), Focus on Cities (Durban, 1970)
- Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B. (eds.), A Zulu King Speaks: Statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the History and Customs of His People (Pietermaritzburg, 1978)
- Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B. (eds.), The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, 3 Volumes, (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976-1982)
- Webb, C. de B., A Guide to the Official Records of the Colony of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1965)
- Welsh, D., The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1945-1910 (Cape Town, 1971)
- Wickins, P.L., The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (Cape Town, 1978)
- Williams, R., The Long Revolution (London, 1961)
- Williams, R., Culture (Glasgow, 1981)
- Williams, R., Problems in Materialism and Culture (London, 1980)
- Wilson, F., Migrant Labour in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1972)
- Wilson, M. and Mafeje, A., Langa (Cape Town, 1963)
- Yeo, E. and Yeo, S. (eds.), Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure (Sussex, 1981)

II Journal Articles, Unpublished Papers and Articles in Books

- Atkins, K.E., 'The "Lazy Kaffir" and Day or "Togt" Labour in Colonial Natal, c.1846-1874', unpublished paper presented to the Southern African Studies Seminar, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, June 1983.
- Baker, W.J., 'The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England', Journal of Social History, Vol.13, No.2, 1979, pp.241-51.
- Ballard, C. '"A Year of Scarcity". The 1896 Locust Plague in Natal and Zululand', South African Historical Journal, No.15, November 1983, pp.34-52.
- Bang, D.N., 'The History and Policy of Kaffir Beer in South Africa', unpublished paper presented to the 5th Annual Conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Bloemfontein, 1956.
- 'Bantu Beer', Bantu, No.4, April 1963, pp.202-05
- Beinart, W. and Bundy, C., 'The Union, the Nation, and the Talking Crow: The Language and Tactics of the Independent I.C.U. in East London', unpublished paper presented to the Centre for African Studies, Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, May 1982.
- Beinart, W. and Bundy, C., 'State Intervention and Rural Resistance: The Transkei, 1900-1965', in Klein, M.A. (ed.), Peasants in Africa, (Beverly Hills, 1980), pp.270-315
- Bloch, R. and Wilkinson, P., 'Urban Control and Popular Struggle' A Survey of State Urban Policy 1920-1970', Africa Perspective, No.20, 1982, pp.2-40.
- Bonner, P., 'The Decline and Fall of the I.C.U. - A Case of Self-Destruction?' South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, Nos. 6, 7, 1974, pp.38-43.

- Bozzoli, B., 'The Origins, Development and Ideology of Local Manufacturing in South Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.1, No.2, 1975, pp.194-214.
- Bradford, H., 'Petty Bourgeois or Proletarian: The Class Nature of the I.C.U. leadership in the Countryside', unpublished paper presented to a South African Economic History Seminar, University of Cape Town, September 1983.
- Bradford, H., 'Lynch Law and Labourers: The I.C.U. in Umvoti, 1927-1928', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, February 1984.
- Bradford, H., 'Strikes in the Natal Midlands: Landlords, Labour Tenants and the I.C.U.', Africa Perspective, No.22, 1983, pp.2-25.
- Bunting, B., 'Liquor and the Colour Bar', Africa South, Vol.2, No.4, 1958, pp.36-43.
- Chambers, R.A., 'Financial Relations? (Kaffir Beer Committee's Report and African Housing)', South African Treasurer, No.21, June 1949, pp.120-3.
- Cohen, R., 'Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness Amongst African Workers', Review of African Political Economy, Vol.19, September-December 1980, pp.8-22.
- Coka, G., 'The Story of Gilbert Coka of the Zulu Tribe of Natal, South Africa', in Perham, M. (ed.), Ten Africans (London, 1980), pp.273-321.
- Cooper, J.R., 'Natives and Intoxicating Liquor', South African Outlook, No.23, 1933, pp.214-17.
- Coplan, D., 'The Emergence of African Working Class Culture: some Research Perspectives', Africa Perspective, No.16, 1980, pp.10-23.
- Coplan, D., 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.5, No.2, April 1979, pp.135-64.

- Crone, W.M., 'Preliminary Experiment on the brewing of Kaffir Beer', Journal of the South African Chemical Institute, No.24, July 1941, pp.35-43.
- Crone, W.M., 'Modern Brewing Technique adopted to the Manufacture of Kaffir Beer for Issue in Native Compounds', Journal of the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa, No.42, February 1942, pp.218-42.
- Davenport, T.R.H., 'African Townsmen? South African Natives Urban Areas Legislation through the Years', African Affairs, Vol.68, No.271, April 1969, pp.95-109.
- Davenport, T.R.H., 'The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background', Occasional Paper Number 15, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1971.
- Davenport, T.R.H., 'The Triumph of Colonel Stallard: The Transformation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act between 1923 and 1937', South African Historical Journal, No.2, 1970, pp.77-96.
- Davies, R.J., 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', The South African Geographical Journal, Vol.45, December 1963, pp.15-43.
- Davies, R., Kaplan, D., Morris, M. and O'Meara, D., 'Class Struggle and the Periodisation of the State in South Africa', Review of African Political Economy, No.7, September-December 1976, pp.4-29.
- De Villiers, R., 'The State Capital and Labour Allocation, The Johannesburg Municipality, 1948-1962', Africa Perspective, No.12, September 1979, pp.20-39.
- Dingle, A.E., 'Drink and Working Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914', Economic History Review, Second Series, Vol.25, 1972, pp.608-22.
- Edley, D.W.M., 'Africans in Durban during the Great Depression, 1929-1933', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.

Evans, M.S. 'Natives in Natal in Relation to Land', South African Journal of Science, No.15, 1918, pp.235-46.

'Liquor: opening the Townships', Financial Mail, No.69, July 21, 1978, pp.234-35.

'Black Unemployment: Selling for Survival', Financial Mail, No.70, December 15, 1978, pp.968-70.

'Black Alcoholism: A Growing Problem', Financial Mail, No.67, March 24, 1978, pp.913-15.

Fox, F.W., 'Notes on the Method of Preparation, Composition, and Nutritional Value of Certain Kaffir Beers', South African Chemical Institute Journal, No.21, 1938, pp.39-54.

Fox, F.W. and Stone, W., 'The Anti-Scorbutic Value of Kaffir Beer', South African Journal of Medical Science, January 1938, pp.7-14.

'The most Public Criminals there ever were', Frontline, Vol.1, No.9, 1981, pp.8-13.

Furedi, F., 'The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Élite Politics', Journal of African History, Vol.15, No.2, 1973, pp.275-90.

Gaitskell, D., 'Women, Religion and Medicine in Johannesburg between the Wars', unpublished paper presented to the Centre for African Studies, Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, September 1982.

Genovese, E., 'Class, Culture and Historical Process', Dialectical Anthropology, Vol.1, No.1, November 1975, pp.71-79.

Gerry, C. and Birbeck, C., 'The Petty Commodity Producer in Third World Cities: Petit-Bourgeois or 'Disguised' Proletarian?' in Bechhofer, F. and Elliot, B. (eds.), The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum (London, 1981), pp.121-54.

Goldberg, M., 'Worker Consciousness: A Formulation and a Critique', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, 1981.

- Gorven, O.D., 'Utilisation of Kaffir Beer Profits', South African Treasurer, Vol.21, April 1949, pp.91-4.
- Guenault, P.H., 'Review of the Institutes' (of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants) Memorandum on Kaffir Beer Profits' South African Treasurer, Vol.18, January 1946, pp.30-31.
- Greene, L.P., 'Foundations of Local Self-Government in a Multi-Racial Society, Durban', Municipal Affairs, Vol.17, No.202, June 1952, pp.41-7.
- Haines, R.J., 'Policing Urban Culture: Inter-racial Philanthropy in Durban 1907-1932', unpublished paper presented to Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.
- Hallett, R., 'The Hooligan Riots: Cape Town August 1906', unpublished paper presented to the Cape Town History Conference, University of Cape Town, 1978.
- Hallett, R., 'Policemen, Pimps and Prostitutes: Public morality and Police Corruption' in Saunders, C. (ed.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Volume 1, (Cape Town, 1979), pp.1-25.
- Harrison, B., 'Pubs', in Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M. (eds.), The Victorian City, Volume One (London, 1973), pp.161-90.
- Hayman, R. 'Kaffir Beer and the Law', Vol.8, No.4, Race Relations, 1941, pp.55-7.
- Hellmann, E., 'The Importance of Beer Brewing in an Urban Native Yard', Bantu Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 1934, pp.39-60.
- Hirson, B., 'The Bloemfontein Riots, 1925: A Study in Community Culture and Class Consciousness', unpublished post-graduate seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1983.

- Hirson, B., 'Tuskegee, The Joint Councils, and the All-African Convention', in Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, Vol.10, No.26, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1981, pp.65-76.
- Hobsbawm, E.J., 'Inventing Traditions in Nineteenth Century Europe', unpublished paper presented to Past and Present Society Annual Conference, London, July 1977.
- Hobsbawm, E.J., 'From Social History to the History of Society', Daedalus, Vol.100, No.1, 1971, pp.20-45.
- Hobsbawm, E.J., 'Labour History and Ideology', Journal of Social History, Vol.7, No.4, 1974, pp.371-81.
- Horton, J.W., 'South Africa's Joint Councils: Black-White Co-operation between the Two World Wars', South African Historical Journal, No.4, 1972, pp.29-44.
- Jessop, B., 'Recent Theories of the Capitalist State', Cambridge Journal of Economics, Vol.1, No.4, December 1977, pp.353-73.
- Johnson, R., 'Edward Thompson, Eugene Genovese and Socialist-Humanist History', History Workshop, Issue 6, Autumn 1978, pp.79-100.
- Johnson, R., 'Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology: Notes on an Impasse', in Barret, M. et al. (eds.), Ideology and Cultural Production (London, 1977), pp.49-77.
- Koch, E., 'The Destruction of Marabi Culture - Urban Segregation in Johannesburg, 1923-1938', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, February 1984.
- Koch, E., 'The Response of the Dominant Classes to Marabi Culture - Liberals, The Local State and the Black Petty Bourgeoisie', unpublished postgraduate History seminar paper, University of Witwatersrand, 1982.
- Koch, E., 'Slumyards, Capital Accumulation and the Local State in Johannesburg: 1910-1923', unpublished postgraduate History seminar paper, University of Witwatersrand, 1981.

- Koch, E., 'Ideology and Class Culture - A Review and Critique of the Work of E.P. Thompson and L. Althusser', unpublished postgraduate History seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981.
- Kraak, G., 'Financing of African Worker Accommodation in Cape Town', SALDRU Working Paper Number 35, University of Cape Town, 1981, pp.1-58.
- Krige, E.J., 'The Social Significance of Beer Among the Balobedu', Bantu Studies, Vol.6, No.4, 1932, pp.343-57.
- Kuper, L., 'Rights and Riots in Natal', Africa South, Vol.4, No.2, 1960, pp.20-6.
- La Hausse, P., 'Alcohol, The Ematsheni and Popular Struggle in Durban: The Origins of the Beer Hall in South Africa 1902-1908', unpublished paper presented to the Centre for African Studies, Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, May 1983.
- La Hausse, P., 'The Struggle for the City: Resistance and Working Class Culture in Durban ca. 1900-1930', unpublished postgraduate History seminar paper, University of Cape Town, May 1982.
- La Hausse, P., 'The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, The Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban 1902-1908', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983; and to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984.
- La Hausse, P., 'Drinking in a Cage: The Durban System and the 1929 Riots', Africa Perspective, No.20, 1982, pp.63-75.
- Legassick, M., 'Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-1934', unpublished paper, Syracuse University, 1973.

- Legassick, M., 'The Making of South African Native Policy 1903-1923: The Origins of Segregation', unpublished post-graduate seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1973.
- Lodge, T., 'The destruction of Sophiatown', unpublished paper presented to History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, 1981.
- Lötter, J.M. and Schmidt, J.J., 'The Shebeen in an Urban Bantu Community', Humantis, Vol.3, No.1, 1975, pp.59-65.
- Mackenzie, D.J., 'African Women and the Urbanization Process in Durban, c. 1920-1949', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.
- Mackenzie, D.J., 'Influx Control, Health Regulation and African Women in Durban c. 1917-1949', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1982.
- Marks, S., 'John Dube and the Ambiguities of Nationalism in Early Twentieth Century Natal', unpublished paper presented to the International Conference on The History of Ethnic Awareness in Southern Africa, Carter G. Woodson Institute, University of Virginia, April 1983.
- Marks, S., 'The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.1, No.2, 1975, pp.162-80.
- Marks, S., 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.4, No.2, 1978, pp.172-94.
- Marris, P., 'The Meaning of Slums and Patterns of Change', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.3, No.3, 1979, pp.419-41.

- Mayer, P., 'Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns', American Anthropologist, Vol.64, 1962, pp.576-92.
- Maylam, P.R., 'Shackled by the Contradictions: The Municipal Response to African Urbanization in Durban c.1920-1950', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.
- Maylam, P.R. 'Strategies of Control and Evasion: African Urban History in South Africa c.1900-1950', unpublished paper presented to the South African Historical Society Conference, University of Durban-Westville, July 1981.
- Maylam, P.R., 'Aspects on African Urbanization in the Durban area before 1940', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on Natal c.1930-1960, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1980.
- McNamee, J.P., 'Domestic Brewing of Kaffir Beer: Some Favourable Experiences', South African Municipal Magazine, Vol.24, No.278, October 1940, pp.13-5.
- Moroney, S., 'The development of the Compound as a Mechanism of Worker Control, 1900-1912', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.4, No.3, May 1978, pp.29-49.
- Morris, M.L., 'The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture: Class and Struggle in the Countryside', Economy and Society, Vol.5, No.3, 1976, pp.292-343.
- Moss, G., 'Opposition as Class Conflict - The Location of Classes in the Social Formation', unpublished paper presented to the Conference on the History of Opposition in Southern Africa, University of Witwatersrand, January 1978.
- Ould, C.W. 'The Organisation of Spare-time Activities for Native Workers in Certain South African Towns', International Labour Review, Vol.37, 1938, pp.25-43.

- Penrose, E.M., 'Financial Implications of the Native Revenue Account', unpublished paper presented to the 5th Annual Conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Bloemfontein, 1956.
- Penvenne, J., 'Forced Labour and the Origin of an African Working Class: Lourenço Marques 1870-1962', Working Paper No. 13, African Studies Centre, Boston University, 1979.
- Phimister, I. and van Onselen C., 'The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity: A Case Study of the 1929 Bulawayo Location "Faction Fight"', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.6, No.1, October 1979, pp.1-43.
- Pickvance, C.G., 'Marxist approaches to the Study of Urban Politics: divergencies among some recent French Studies', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.1, No.2, 1977, pp.219-55.
- Pinnock, D., 'From Argie Boy to Skollie Gangsters: The Lumpenproletariat Challenge of the Street Corner Armies of District Six', unpublished paper presented to the Cape Town History Workshop, University of Cape Town, 1979.
- Preston - Whyte, E., 'Segregation and Interpersonal Relationships: A Case Study of Domestic Service in Durban, South Africa', unpublished paper presented to the Interdisciplinary Workshop, University of Durban-Westville, 1981.
- Randall, R.J., 'Some Reflections on the Financial Policy of Certain Municipalities towards the Natives within their Boundaries', South African Journal of Economics, Vol.7, No.2, March 1939, pp.149-71
- Rex, J., 'The Compound, the Reserve and the Urban Location: The Essential Institutions of Southern African Labour Exploitation', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, No.4, July 1974, pp.4-17.

Rheinallt Jones, J.D. and Saffrey, A.L., 'Social and Economic Conditions of Native Life in the Union of South Africa', Bantu Studies, Vol.7, No.4, 1933, pp.317-40.

Rich, P.B., 'The Origins of Apartheid Ideology: The Case of Ernest Stubbs and the Transvaal Native Administration, c.1902-1932', African Affairs, Vol.79, No.315, April 1980, pp.171-94.

Rich, P.B., 'Ministering to the White Man's Needs: The Development of Urban Segregation in South Africa, 1913-1923', African Studies, Vol.37, No.2, 1978, pp.177-91.

Rich, P.B., 'Liberalism and Ethnicity in South African Politics 1921-48', African Studies, Vol.35, No.3-4, 1976, pp.229-51.

Rich, P., 'The South African Institute of Race Relations and the Debate on "Race Relations", 1929-1958', in Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, Vol.12, No.28, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1980/81, pp.77-85.

Rich, P., 'The Agrarian Counter-Revolution in the Transvaal and the origins of segregation: 1902-1913', unpublished paper presented to the African Studies Institute Seminar Programme, University of Witwatersrand, 1975.

Saunders, C., 'The Creation of Ndabeni; Urban Segregation, Social Control and African Resistance', unpublished paper presented to the Centre for African Studies, Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, 1978.

Saunders, C., 'From Ndabeni to Langa 1919-1935', unpublished paper presented to the Cape Town History Conference, University of Cape Town, 1978.

Schwartz, H.M., 'Current Research on Kaffir Beer at the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research', unpublished paper presented to the 5th Annual Conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Bloemfontein, 1956.

Shannon, H.A., 'Urbanization 1904-1936', South African Journal of Economics, Vol.5, 1937, pp.164-90.

Shepperson, G., 'Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism', Journal of African History, Vol.1, No.2, 1960, pp.299-312.

Slater, H., 'Land Labour and Capitalism in Natal: The Natal Land and Colonisation Company, 1860-1948', Journal of African History, Vol.16, No.2, 1975, pp.257-83.

Smith, R.E.F., 'Drink in Old Russia', in Hobsbawm, E.J. et al. (eds.), Peasants in History (Oxford, 1980), pp.42-54.

Smith, H.A., 'Cheap versus Economic Construction in Housing Schemes', South African Architectural Record, Vol.30, August 1945, pp.178-81.

'Housing in South Africa: Corporation of the City of Durban', South African Architectural Record, Vol.28, July 1943, pp.136-37.

'Liquor: The Background', South African Outlook, Vol.106, No.1264, 1976, pp.130-33.

'A New Industry Emerges', South African Panorama, Vol.6, No.6, 1961, pp.38-41.

'Native Housing Policy', South African Treasurer, Vol.21, February 1949, pp.50-52.

'Correspondence to editor from L. Roibes re Kaffir Beer Profits', South African Treasurer, Vol.18, February 1946, p.50.

Stedman Jones, G., 'Class Expression versus Social Control? A critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of "Leisure"', History Workshop, Issue 4, Autumn 1977, pp.162-70.

Stein, M., 'State Liquor Policy since 1880', unpublished paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, 1981.

- Stent, G.E., 'Migrancy and Urbanization in the Union of South Africa', Journal of the International African Institute, Vol.18, No.3, July 1948, pp.161-83
- Storch, R.D., 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts: Police Reform and Popular Resistance in Northern England, 1840-1857', International Review of Social History, Vol.20, 1975, pp.61-90.
- Swanson, M.W., 'Reflections on the Urban History of South Africa: Some problems and possibilities, with special reference to Durban', in Watts, H.L. (ed.), Focus on Cities (Durban, 1970), pp.142-49.
- Swanson, M.W., '"The Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', African Studies, Vol.35, No.3-4, 1976, pp.159-76.
- Swanson, M.W., 'The Urban Factor in Natal Native Policy 1843-1893', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, Vo.3, 1980, pp.1-14.
- Swanson, M.W., 'Urban Origins of Separate Development, Race, Vol.10, 1968, pp.31-40.
- Swanson, M.W., '"The Asiatic Menace": Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.16, No.3, 1983, pp.401-21.
- Swanson, M.W., 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony 1900-1909', Journal of African History, Vol.18, No.3, 1977, pp.387-410.
- Thompson, E.P., 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', Past and Present, No.38, December 1967, pp.56-97.
- Thompson, E.P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', Past and Present, No.50, February 1971, pp.76-136.
- Torr, L., 'The Durban City Council and Urban Land Use 1923-1933: The Founding of Lamont', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.

- Trapido, S., 'South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization', Journal of Development Studies, Vol.7, 1970/71, pp.309-20.
- Van Onselen, C., 'Randlords and Rotgut, 1886-1903: An essay on the Role of Alcohol in the Development of European Imperialism and Southern African Capitalism', History Workshop, Issue 2, Autumn 1976, pp.33-89.
- Van Onselen, C., 'The Role of Collaborators in the Rhodesian Mining Industry 1900-1935', African Affairs, Vol.2, No.289, 1973, pp.401-18.
- Van Onselen, C., 'Worker consciousness in Black Miners, Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920', Journal of African History, Vol.14, No.2, 1973, pp.237-55.
- Van Onselen, C., 'Sex and Social Control in the Rhodesian Mine Compounds 1900-1913', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.1, No.7, November-December 1974, pp.17-30.
- White, J., 'Campbell Bunk: A Lumpen Community in London between the Wars', History Workshop, Issue 8, Autumn 1979, pp.1-49.
- Wilkinson, P., 'The "Local State" as a Conceptual Problem: An Exploration of Some Recent Marxist Work', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October 1983.
- Wilkinson, P. and Webster, D., 'Living in the Interstices of Capitalism: Notes towards a Conceptual Redefinition of "Informal Sector" activity in South African Cities', unpublished paper presented to the Interdisciplinary Workshop, University of Durban-Westville, 1981.
- Wohl, A.S., 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London', International Review of Social History, Vol.13, 1968, pp.189-245.
- Wolpe, H., 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid', Economy and Society, Vol.1, No.4, 1972, pp.425-56.

III. Theses

- Bor, J., 'Liquor and Labour at the Cape in the late Nineteenth Century', B.A. Hons, dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1978.
- Clegg, J., 'Dance and Society in Africa South of the Sahara', B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1977.
- Gaitskell, D., 'Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches, 1903-1939', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981.
- Harries, P., 'Labour Migration from Mozambique to South Africa; with Special Reference to the Delagoa Bay Hinterland, c.1862-1897', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1983.
- Hemson, D., 'Class Consciousness and Migrant Workers: Dockworkers of Durban', Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1979.
- Ladlau, L.K., 'The Cato Manor Riots 1959-60', M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1975.
- Magubane, B., 'Sport and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Case Study of African Voluntary Organisations', M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1963.
- Penn, N.G., 'The Liquor Licensing Question in Edwardian Politics 1900 to 1910', B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978.
- Penvenne, J., 'A History of African Labour in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique 1877 to 1950', Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1982.
- Sugden, M.A., 'The Bantu of the Durban Metropolitan Area - A Case Study in Population Analysis', M.Sc. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1965.

Swanson, M.W. 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930' Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1965.

Swart, C., 'Durban and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act', B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1981.

IV Interviews

Borquin, S.B., Westville, 23 January 1982 (Interview conducted by P. la Hausse).

Dlamini, Tunywa, 14, 15 June, 8 July 1981 (Interview conducted by B. Nkosi and C. Mkhize).

Drew, W.E., Sunwich Port, 16 July 1982 (Interview conducted by P. la Hausse).

Hlengwa, Albert, 29 May 1981 (Interview conducted by L. Mabaso).

Mkhize, Bertha, 27 August 1980 (Interview conducted by J. Wells and H. Hughes); and 14, 22 August 1979 (Interview conducted by A. Manson and D. Collins).

Molooi, H., 23 February 1979 (Interview conducted by A. Manson and D. Collins).

Msimang, H.S., Edendale, 4 December 1981 (Interview conducted by P. la Hausse).

Mzimela, Albertina, 23 September 1980 (Interview conducted by Rev. S. Zulu).

Selby, Steven, 12 August 1980 (Interview conducted by C.N. Shum).

Sesibo, Isaac, Durban, 31 October 1983 (Interview conducted by P. la Hausse).

MAP ONE - KEYAFRICAN BEER BREWERS AND SHEBEENS, 1908

	<u>Number of Shebeens</u>	<u>Number of Brewers</u>
A GREY STREET DISTRICT	13	13
B GALE STREET DISTRICT	7	27
C WARWICK AVENUE DISTRICT	25	192
D UMGENTI ROAD DISTRICT	8	22
E BRICKHILL ROAD DISTRICT	13	47
F POINT ROAD DISTRICT	10	15
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	76	316
	<hr/>	<hr/>

BEER HALLS AND BREWERIES, 1909 - 1960

- 1 VICTORIA STREET BEER HALL (1909)
- 2 BELL STREET BEER HALL (1909)
- 3 ORDNANCE ROAD BEER HALL (1909) CONVERTED INTO CENTRAL BREWERY (1913)
- 4 UMGENTI BEER HALL (1912)
- 5 PRINCE ALFRED STREET BEER HALL (1914)
- 6 CONGELLA (MAYDON WHARF) BEER HALL (1915)
- 7 SYDENHAM BEER HALL AND BREWERY (1929)
- 8 SOUTH COAST JUNCTION BEER HALL AND BREWERY (c.1929)
- 9 DALTON ROAD BEER HALL (1945?)
- 10 CATO MANOR BEER HALL (1959)
- 11 MONTGOMERY BEERY HALL (1945?)

MAIN MUNICIPAL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HOUSING, 1902 - 1936

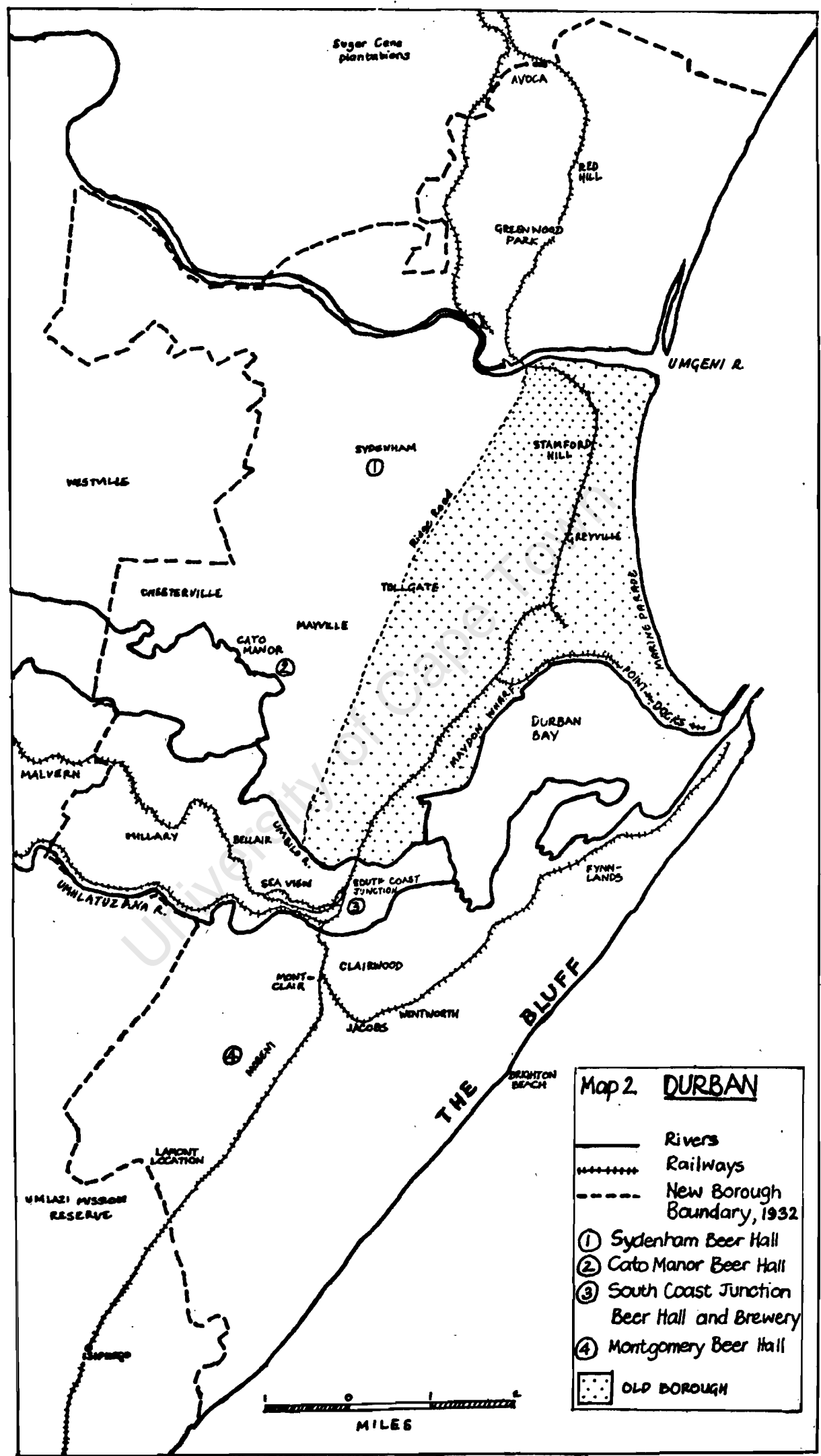
- 1 BAUMANNVILLE
- 2 GREYVILLE S.A.R. BARRACKS
- 3 INDIAN BARRACKS
- 4 DEPOT ROAD (SOMTSEU) BARRACKS
- 5 POINT (BROWNS ROAD) S.A.R. BARRACKS
- 6 OLD AND NEW BELL STREET BARRACKS
- 7 WILLIAMS ROAD RICKSHA BARRACKS (PRIVATELY OWNED)
- 8 CENTRAL TOGT BARRACKS
- 9 BROOK STREET WOMEN'S HOSTEL (OLD)
- 10 GREY STREET WOMEN'S HOSTEL (NEW)
- 11 OLD (CEMETERY) BARRACKS
- 12 QUEEN STREET MEN'S HOSTEL
- 13 GAOL BARRACKS
- 14 DALTON ROAD BARRACKS

SOME POLITICAL MEETING PLACES, POST-1925

- 1 COMMUNIST PARTY HALL, 57 HOSPITAL ROAD
- 2 I.C.U. YASE NATAL HALL, 45 PRINCE EDWARD STREET
- 3 DURBAN WORKERS' CLUB, 11 LEOPOLD STREET

SOME AFRICAN DANCE HALLS AND SOCIAL CLUBS, POST-1928

- A ALPHEUS SEME'S DANCE HALL, 781 UMGENTI ROAD
- B C.D. TUSI'S DANCE HALL, FOUNTAIN LANE
- C JOHN NDULI'S AFRICAN SOCIAL CLUB, 117 PRINCE EDWARD STREET
- D BANTU SOCIAL CENTRE, VICTORIA STREET



8 FEB 1985

